

1-1-1978

Alienation and interpersonal perception among female adolescent runaways and truants.

June Faye Chisholm

University of Massachusetts Amherst

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1

Recommended Citation

Chisholm, June Faye, "Alienation and interpersonal perception among female adolescent runaways and truants." (1978). *Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014*. 1475.

https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1/1475

This Open Access Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. It has been accepted for inclusion in Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014 by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. For more information, please contact scholarworks@library.umass.edu.

ALIENATION AND INTERPERSONAL PERCEPTION AMONG
FEMALE ADOLESCENT RUNAWAYS AND TRUANTS

A Dissertation Presented

By

JUNE F. CHISHOLM

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 1978

Department of Psychology

c June Chisholm 1978
All Rights Reserved

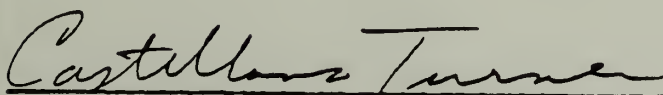
ALIENATION AND INTERPERSONAL PERCEPTION AMONG
FEMALE ADOLESCENT RUNAWAYS AND TRUANTS

A dissertation

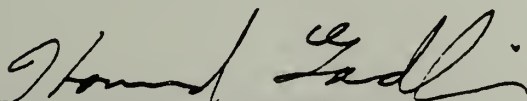
By

June F. Chisholm

Approved as to style and content by:



Castellano Turner, Chairperson



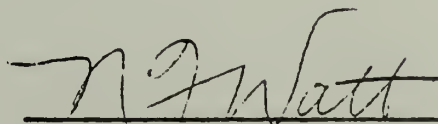
Howard Gadlin, Member



Alexandra Kaplan, Member



Ernest Washington, Member



Norman Watt, Chairperson
Psychology Department

December 1977

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply indebted to a number of people who have assisted and encouraged me in the preparation and completion of this research project. I appreciate the guidance and invaluable comments of the committee members: Dr. Castellano Turner, the Chairperson; Dr. Howard Gadlin; Dr. Alexandra Kaplan; and Dr. Ernest Washington. My special thanks to Dr. Turner whose enthusiasm and unfailing support were motivating forces especially at those times when Murphy's Laws undermined my confidence and clouded my thoughts. As always, his supervision provided a clear conceptual framework for examining ideas that emerged from the data analyses. Without his efforts I doubt that the project would have been completed on time.

I would also like to express my thanks to Dr. Sidney Yudin, Dr. Walter Kass and Dr. Murray Alpert at NYU-Medical Center for their assistance and cooperation which enabled me to collect the data while completing a second-year internship.

This study would not have been possible without the cooperation of the Directors of the community shelters, the Superintendent of the New York Schools, the principal and vice principal of the local school as well as the young people who willingly participated as subjects. To all of them I express my thanks.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents and close friends, Harold T. Washington, Ph.D., B. J. Pierce-Astwood and Roslyn Roos for their help and support.

ABSTRACT

Alienation and Interpersonal Perception among
Female Adolescent Runaways and Truants

(December 1977)

June F. Chisholm, B.A., Syracuse University
M.S., University of Massachusetts, Ph.D., University of Massachusetts

Directed by: Professor Castellano B. Turner

This is a study of the relationship between alienation and interpersonal perception of specific social contexts among Runaways, Truants, and a Control population. Three measures of alienation were used: Turner's (1975) Alienation Index Inventory, Dean's (1961) Powerlessness Scale and TAT assessments of alienation developed by Davids and Rosenblatt (1959). The two contexts in question were the family sphere and the school setting. The relationships studied within these contexts were the mother-daughter and teacher-student dyads respectively.

The alienation measures were administered to 109 black female adolescents (ranging in age from 14 to 19). Socio-economic status (SES), family type (e.g., intact family, one-parent family) and reading level were evenly balanced. After assessing the subjects' alienation level, the investigator instructed them to listen to a taped dialogue between an adult and an adolescent who were randomly presented as either a mother and daughter or a teacher and student. One tape served as the stimulus for both the mother-daughter and teacher-student dyad; therefore the conversations were identical. Only the role designations presented to the subjects differed. Five perceptual scales were developed to as-

sess the subjects' perceptions of the individuals and their conversations.

The main hypothesis reflecting significant differences in perception as a function of alienation level was partially supported. Subjects scoring high on the alienation measures scored significantly higher on self-predicted behavior (one of the five perceptual scales) than did subjects scoring low on the alienation measures. This scale assessed the subject's imagined reactions were she to find herself in the situation suggested on the tape. A high score indicated that the subject's behavior would be alienating within the interpersonal context.

The hypothesis that differences in perception would also be a function of the groups, who by their behavior (running away from home and avoiding school) appeared to be alienated, was also supported. The results suggest that Runaways can be placed on a continuum with Truants. With one exception, Runaways' mean scores for the perceptual indices were significantly higher than Truants, suggesting that they perceived greater stress and conflict on the tape.

The hypothesis concerning significant differences in interpersonal perception as a function of the interaction between context and group was supported. The tape when heard as a mother-daughter conversation generated significantly higher mean scores on the perceptual indices than when heard as a teacher-student conversation. This was especially true for the Runaway sample. Truants perceived the teacher-student tape more favorably than the other two groups. This anomalous finding was discussed in terms of the contrast between the Truants' prior experiences with teachers, who probably expressed neutral to negative interest

in the personal lives of students, as opposed to the teacher's interest suggested on the tape.

The findings are discussed in terms of their implication for short and long range intervention programs designed to remedy the problems which are defended against by running away from home and truancy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | | |
|--------------|---|----|
| CHAPTER I. | Introduction..... | 1 |
| | Statement of the Problem..... | 1 |
| | Alienation..... | 2 |
| | Adolescence..... | 8 |
| | Runaways..... | 10 |
| | Nonrunaway Truants..... | 13 |
| | Summary..... | 14 |
| CHAPTER II. | Method..... | 19 |
| | Subjects..... | 19 |
| | Measures..... | 20 |
| | Procedure..... | 24 |
| | Experimental Treatment..... | 25 |
| CHAPTER III. | Results..... | 26 |
| | Group Controls..... | 26 |
| | Reliability of Psychological Measures..... | 26 |
| | Testing the Hypotheses..... | 28 |
| | Response to Alienation Measures..... | 29 |
| | Population and Perceptual Differences..... | 41 |
| | Context..... | 45 |
| CHAPTER IV. | Discussion..... | 51 |
| | Alienation Level..... | 55 |
| | Group Differences by Context..... | 59 |
| | Alienation Level and Group Differences..... | 62 |
| | Correlation between Self Report and Projective Measures..... | 66 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Implications..... | 67 |
| Limitations..... | 70 |
| References..... | 72 |
| APPENDIX I. Three Case Interviews..... | 78 |
| APPENDIX II. Questionnaires..... | 93 |
| APPENDIX III. Tables..... | 105 |

LIST OF TABLES

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----|
| Table 1. | Listing of Reading Level, Age and SES..... | 27 |
| Table 2. | Percent of Subjects Scoring High and Low on Alienation in Response to Self-report Questionnaires..... | 30 |
| Table 3. | Summary of the Means and Standard Deviations of the Dependent Variables by Group..... | 31 |
| Table 4. | Summary of the Means and Standard Deviations of the Adult Semantic Differential Scale by Types of Alienation.. | 32 |
| Table 5. | Summary of the Means and Standard Deviations of the Adolescent Semantic Differential Scale by Types of Alienation..... | 33 |
| Table 6. | Summary of the Means and Standard Deviations of the Semantic Differential Scale (Difference) by Types of Alienation..... | 34 |
| Table 7. | Summary of the Means and Standard Deviations of the Empathy Scale by Types of Alienation..... | 35 |
| Table 8. | Summary of the Means and Standard Deviations of the Self-Predicted Behavior Scores by Types of Alienation..... | 36 |
| Table 9. | Mean and Standard Deviations for Dependent Variables with T-Value Comparing Group Scores..... | 42 |
| Table 10. | Means and Standard Deviations of Empathy by Group by Context..... | 43 |
| Table 11. | Means and Standard Deviations for Three Behavior Scale Items by Group..... | 46 |
| Table 12. | Summary of the Means and Standard Deviations of the Dependent Variables by Context..... | 48 |
| Table 13. | Means and Standard Deviations of Adult Semantic Dif- ferential Scale by Group by Context..... | 49 |
| Table 14. | Means and Standard Deviations of Personal Satisfaction.... | 54 |
| Table 15. | Summary of Item-Inter-scale Correlations and Alphas for Alienation Index Inventory..... | 105 |
| Table 16. | Summary of Item-scale Correlations and Alphas for Powerlessness Scale..... | 106 |

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----|
| Table 17. | Summary of Item-scale Correlations and Alphas for Semantic Differential Scales..... | 107 |
| Table 18. | Summary of Item-scale Correlations and Alphas for Semantic Differential Scales..... | 108 |
| Table 19. | Summary of Item-scale Correlations and Alphas for Empathy and Behavior Scales..... | 109 |
| Table 20. | Summary of Item-scale Correlations and Alphas for TAT Alienation Scales..... | 110 |
| Table 21. | Summary of Item-scale Correlations and Alphas for TAT Alienation Scales..... | 111 |
| Table 22. | Summary of Item-scale Correlations and Alphas for TAT Alienation Scales..... | 112 |
| Table 23. | Summary of Analyses of Variance for Family Alienation by Group..... | 113 |
| Table 24. | Summary of Analysis of Variance for Dependent Measures by Family Alienation..... | 114 |
| Table 25. | Summary of the Analyses of Variance Relating School Alienation to Scores on the Adolescent Semantic Differential and Empathy Scales..... | 115 |
| Table 26. | Summary of Analysis of Variance for Group Differences on Empathy Scale Items..... | 116 |
| Table 27. | Summary of Analyses of Variance for Behavior Scores among Groups..... | 117 |
| Table 28. | Summary of Analyses of Variance for Behavior Scores by Context..... | 118 |
| Table 29. | Means and Standard Deviations for Three Behavior Scale Items by Context..... | 119 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | |
|---|----|
| Figure 1. A Model of Alienation..... | 6 |
| Figure 2. Family Alienation by Group..... | 38 |
| Figure 3. School Alienation by Group..... | 39 |
| Figure 4. Powerlessness by Group..... | 40 |

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The central purpose of this study is to examine the subjective experience of interpersonal alienation (here defined as powerlessness) by assessing the perceptions of two target groups of specific interpersonal situations. The target groups (adolescent runaways and school truants) are selected on the basis of two criteria: 1) the overt behavior of avoiding a situation involving a constellation of interpersonal relationships and experiences (e.g. the family among runaways and the school among truants), and 2) responses to alienation measures (Turner, 1975; Dean, 1961; Davids & Rosenblatt, 1959). While the motivations for the observed reactions of these groups can be understood in a number of ways, one might infer that within that sphere the adolescent feels unable to accomplish any desired goals.

The alienation measures are used to distinguish between those runaways and school truants who verbalize feelings of powerlessness within these contexts and those who do not. In addition to the self report measures of alienation a projective measure is used. A positive correlation between the self report and projective measures of alienation is expected. However it may be that those who do not verbalize powerlessness are, nonetheless, experiencing the feelings which may be evident on the projective measure.

The test situations used in the study correspond to the situations presently avoided by the adolescents. The situations (family and school) will be experimentally presented to examine differences in perceptions based on the target population and level of powerlessness within the two contexts.

In general the study explores from the actors' perspective the reasons runaways and school truants respectively leave home and avoid the school. Their overt behavior of avoiding and/or withdrawing from a situation suggests one of four possible explanations: 1) the home or school situation they have left is such that only drastic modifications would enable them to remain, i.e., the perceived or real constraints of the immediate environment are untenable, making them powerless within this ambience; 2) the environment contains conflicting influences, e.g., counterculture groups; 3) the perceptions of the adolescent are indicative of a pathogenic process of projection such that "leaving" is suggestive of characterological disturbances; or 4) any combination of the above.

Alienation

Alienation is typically understood as a condition resulting from any number of sources. Of late movement away and estrangement have received the most attention. It is a pervasive theme in sociological and psychological literature, referring to social conditions in the former and subjective experiences in the latter. Sociologically the concept has been used to describe various psychosocial conditions which are inextricably related to some societal dysfunction that predisposes its

people to experience conflict about the exigencies of living (Durkheim, 1953; Merton, 1957, 1964; Lemert, 1964; Clinard, 1964). Marx addressed the alienating aspects of the division of labor, i.e., man subjugated by his accomplishments instead of controlling them. Hegel discussed alienation as man becoming detached from his own nature and the world as a consequence of socialization. Fromm's (1955) "marketing orientation" is central to his thesis that alienation abounds in a world where man and resources are treated "as commodities to which monetary values may be assigned and which may be peddled" (p. 124).

Two distinct underlying processes have been differentiated in the subjective state of alienation: a social psychological estrangement induced by anomic social conditions, i.e., a reaction to adverse situations, and that accruing predominantly from psychological processes. Merton (1964) writes:

It seems not to have been widely recognized--again, if we are to judge from the appended inventory of research on the subject--that by adopting well-known procedures of analysis, the measure of anomia for the individual can be adapted to serve as a measure of anomie for the social system. By doing so, composite studies that simultaneously examine the behavior of individuals, with similar degrees of anomia, within differing social contexts of anomie, would enable us to deal with theoretical systematic research (Clinard, p. 228).

While Merton refers to a specific variant of alienation (normlessness) his proposed model of analysis seems applicable to other forms of alienation as well. One major difficulty in attempting the type of analysis recommended by Merton is that the alienation construct is inundated with a multiplicity of related concepts. The many faceted meanings attributed to alienation lessens the empirical consensus of what is actual-

ly under scrutiny. Several have tackled this dilemma, beginning with Srole (1956), with varying degrees of success by relating alienation concepts to empirically verifiable definitions.

Cohen's (1955) theory presents a social interaction model suggesting the salience of group phenomena influencing the "roles" and "positions" one assumes when affected by anomic conditions. Extrapolating this basic premise to the adolescent and his/her family complex, Noshpitz (1970) suggests that in some instances "the adolescent is expressing in exaggerated and caricatured form. . .some of the essential disappointment and frustration his parents and surrounding adults experience in their culture-coping attempts." This view does not diminish the salience of the subjective experience of alienation. Rather what is suggested are shared coping mechanisms to deal with anomic conditions.

The alienation literature indicates that differential levels of alienation, anomia in particular, are experienced between groups judged to be dissimilar according to specified demographic variables. Important factors include SES level, degree of perceived or real opportunity structures, race, location (.e.g, urban or rural), and level of aspiration (Meir & Bell, 1959; Killian & Griegg, 1952; Rhodes, 1964). The general consensus about alienated youth is that an incongruity among certain cultural and familial factors as well as the adolescent's constitutional capacities combine to produce conflicts during adolescence. There are those theories and studies that differentiate between the adolescent who expresses his/her alienation in terms of complete withdrawal and apathy (McConville & Boag, 1973; Anthony, 1970; Solnit et al., 1969) or open defiance and destructiveness (Jaffe, 1963; Marwell, 1966; Gold,

1969).

What has received recent empirical attention is the variance among individuals within a grouping in terms of the alienation experienced and the subsequent variations in behavior and perceptions (Horton, 1964; Harkins, 1965; Gottschalk & Gleser, 1969; Gottschalk, 1972; Plasek, 1974). Seeman's (1959) contribution to elucidating the cognitive correlates of alienation consists of the reorganization of the alienation literature into five alternative meanings consistent with a social learning model. Included are normlessness, powerlessness, meaninglessness, social isolation and self estrangement. Manderscheid, Silbergeld and Dager (1975) summarize prior research showing a relationship between cognitive alienation forms and affective states. They conclude:

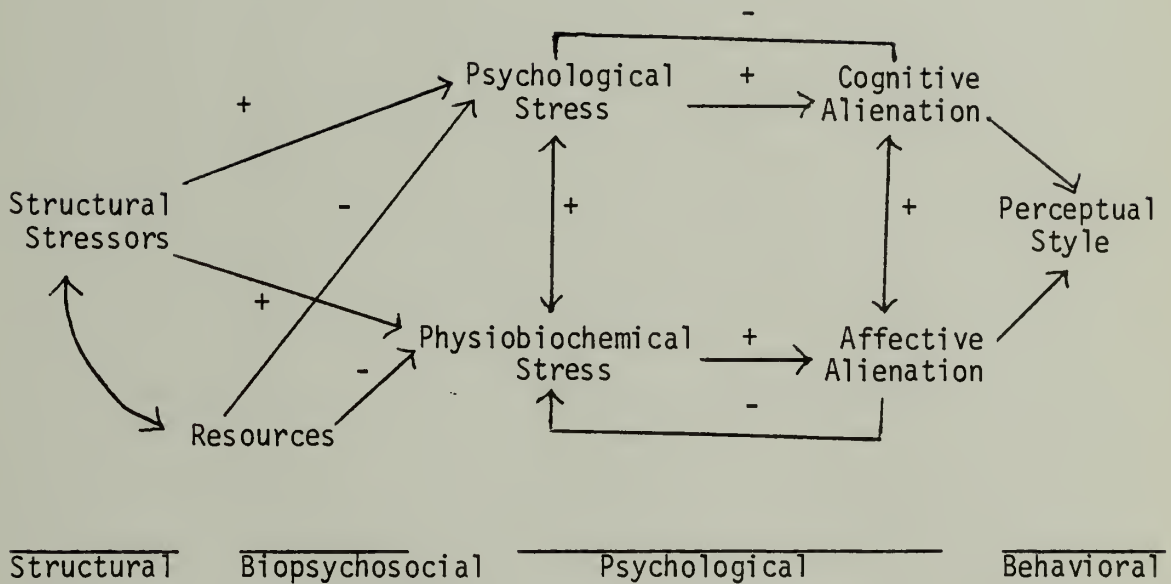
The cognitive component of each alienation syndrome feeds back cybernetically to reduce psychological stress, while the affective component operates in an equivalent manner to reduce physiobiochemical stress. Jointly, the two components also condition perceptual style (p. 91).

Seeman's cognitive description of powerlessness is: the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes or reinforcements he seeks (p. 748).

The affective state associated conceptually with this variant of alienation is hostility expressed covertly towards others (Gottschalk & Gleser, 1969). Both the cognitive and noncognitive state are prevalent among runaways and truants who react to perceived external control and subsequent feelings of powerlessness with hostility.

Two studies of relevance to this proposed study report on the affect of alienation in social apperception. Davids (1955) defined eight

FIGURE 1
A Model of Alienation*



*Proposed theory of alienation (Manderscheid, Silbergeld, & Dager, 1976). Single-headed, dual-headed, and curved, dual-headed arrows define unidirectional, bidirectional, and unanalyzed relationships, respectively. The labels beneath the diagram suggest the types of variables being considered at different stages of the model

descriptive variables as alienation or nonalienation dispositions. The alienation variables include pessimism, distrust, egocentricity, anxiety, and resentment. He termed this constellation of dispositions the alienation syndrome. Apperception was determined by an affect questionnaire which assessed three salient aspects of the personality dispositions: 1) the relative amount of the disposition in the subject's personality, 2) the relative amount of the disposition he apperceives in his environment, and 3) his evaluation (positive-negative) of the given disposition. The results of this questionnaire were correlated with material obtained previously from a brief fact finding interview conducted by an experienced clinical psychologist. In the first study it was found that inaccuracies in the social apperceptions occurred in both low alienation subjects and high alienation subjects with a trend of a higher degree of accuracy in those subjects who are low on alienation. In addition, the high alienation subject generally apperceived his peers as being more alienated than they actually are though less alienated than himself.

A second study by Davids (1955) offered support for the findings of the first study. In this study, an auditory projective technique consisting of a series of eight ambiguous or incoherent spoken passages, a word association technique, and a sentence completion technique were administered to subjects who had previously been grouped according to high and low scores on an independent measure of alienation (interview by clinical psychologist). Individuals who were judged clinically to be high on the syndrome of alienation were found more often to express words and statements indicative of alienation on the projective measures

and tended to selectively remember this material as measured by methods of immediate recall, delayed recall and recognition. It was concluded that the experimental findings favorably demonstrated the generality and consistency of relations between motivation (e.g., alienation in this instance) and cognitive processes which is in keeping with the theory underlying projective techniques.

The subjects in the preceeding studies were selected on the basis of the alienation level determined by projective and clinical methods. Thus homogeneity was established by performance on specified criteria which were discriminating in that the high and low groups responded differently to the experimental conditions. In this study homogeneity is extended to include another common feature: running away and truancy. The underlying motivations for the observable behaviors may be similar such that runaways and truants constitute two homogeneous groups identified by the overt behavioral reaction. Before reviewing the literature on runaways and school truants the period of adolescence is briefly discussed to highlight some of the milestones of this period.

Adolescence

Adolescence is as profound as it is complex in preparing the individual for adult adaptation to the vicissitudes of life. It is the stage in human development in which childhood characterological endowments, idiosyncratic predilections, maturation and psychosocial elements combine and form an "identity." Erikson's (1968) conception of identity includes three requisites for successful psychological development of the adolescent. First, the individual must perceive him/herself as essen-

tially the same over time. Second, people in the individual's social environment also perceive an essential similarity in the person's presentation. Finally, the person gains confidence in his/her perception through social validation.

For the adolescent the social environment undergoes several changes to which s/he must accommodate. The spheres of influence, those which s/he affects and is affected by, broaden beyond the immediate family constellation. It is a time of social experimentation in which social roles are adopted and discarded, often with amazing rapidity. The adolescent's relatedness to the world undergoes a reorganization which transforms him/her into an independent social actor. During this life phase the adolescent identity is most plastic, capable of chameleon-like changes as the converging identity elements interacting with the social environment assemble into a final configuration. The overall task is formidable and accomplished not without emotional conflict and upheaval (hence the terms identity crisis, identity confusion).

The family complex provides the first necessary confirmation or validation of being a part of a group. Gold (1969) makes two distinctions in the application of belongingness that are especially important to the child and later the adolescent. He refers to the complementary relationship between being influenced by and being able to influence. The dialectical relationship between self and others involves the individual as an autonomous functioning being who has an affiliation with a group. The process of separation/individuation is basically about the personal homeostasis established as the individual is assimilated into his social environment. The mechanisms which bind the child to the

family system can either facilitate his/her own autonomous functioning or undermine his/her personal equilibrium for the family homeostasis. The majority of adolescents progress satisfactorily through this period. There are those, however, who seem to have a more difficult period of adjustment. Runaways and school truants are two such groups.

Runaways

The personality literature on runaway youth for the most part has attempted to differentiate the genotype of the dynamics from the phenotypic behavior to determine the factors involved. Investigation of the ostensible and real motivations and the personality structure has generated several observations and postulations which are amenable to interpretation from the alienation perspective. The general consensus on the dynamics involved in running away is that this behavioral action, in part, is a frustration response to conflicts in the parent-child and/or sibling relationships (Justice & Duncan, 1976; Levanthal, 1953). The response is viewed as being symptomatic of personality maladjustments, e.g., immaturity, seclusiveness, and apathy (Riemer, 1940; Robins & O'Neal, 1959; Jenkins, 1971; Howell et al., 1973). Levinson and Mezei (1970) note that the runaways in their study expressed feelings of loneliness, isolation and detachment. Observations of their behavior indicated that most had difficulty in interpersonal relationships. The authors concluded that these adolescents feel a lack of self acceptance and a lack of acceptance by others.

The act of running away is also seen as a rebellious striking out against the perceived pressure exerted by the family and sociosphere.

Moreover the flight from perceived or real conflicts is often an attempt to seek out ideal, fantasized relationships, and/or situations which provide and satisfy the hurt adolescent's emotional need for nurturance and reassurance. The complexity of the motivation and the means to ameliorate the conflicts are suggestive of the contrary powerful forces within the adolescent. For instance, some have reported that running away temporarily enhances self esteem in that the act as well as the subsequent experience promotes feelings of pseudo-independence (Reimer, 1940; Lowrey, 1941). Also, the need for acceptance and assurance is often camouflaged by a brisk, hostile demeanor which serves at least two purposes: 1) to protect the adolescent from further emotional pain, and 2) to vent anger at those individuals (parents or parental substitutes) who are the actual or perceived sources of emotional deprivation. Lowrey (1941) writes:

In many instances running away seems to be a healthy mode of response to an intolerable situation. In the adolescent the family drama is especially important, and imbedded within it, perhaps reflected by marked deviations in personality structure in the individual, are usually to be found the major causative factors (p. 781).

The findings of Robins and O'Neal (1959) concur with Lowrey's supposition. These researchers compared the adult arrest and divorce histories, and adult psychiatric diagnosis of former patients of a child guidance clinic with patients of the same clinic who were not runaways. Runaways were found to have more arrests, more incarcerations, more divorces, and more frequent diagnoses as sociopathic personalities than the nonrunaways. Second, the runaways had more experience with juvenile

court and juvenile correctional institutions which could not be explained solely on the basis of arrests as runaways. Thus the behavioral reaction does seem to differentiate these adolescents from their peers in terms of the maladaptive patterns developed during this period as a result of intense intra- and/or interpersonal difficulties.

The societal response has in general terms created an institutional network for coping with the runaways' most pressing needs--food, shelter, clothing and when possible, counseling. The statistics on the number of runaways varies. It is estimated that from 600,000 to two million young people under the age of 17 runaway each year (Business Week, January 27, 1975; U.S. News and World Report, September 3, 1973). More than half of all runaways are girls which may be due, in part, to detection procedures that pick up girls more often for soliciting. Some cities report that youth from minority and working class families are "joining a runaway flow once consisting mainly of disenchanted offspring of the middle class" (U.S. News, April, 1972). The following excerpt from a press release dated November 30, 1976, reports the findings of the New York City Youth Board's emergency referral program:

234 youths were served by the emergency referral program July to October of which only four had previously been in contact with a social service agency.

Three quarters of the group were 18 years of age and under with almost 25% of them under 16.

Most of the youth served were Black (45%); 27% White and 25% of Hispanic background.

Fifty-four per cent of the group were either away from home without permission of their parents or were pushed out of their homes.

Forty-seven per cent of these youths came from families with two parents (natural or step parent) and 25% came from homes where both natural parents were present. Such figures indicate that intact families also suffer from runaway children and need preventive services. Twenty-five percent of the runaways came from families where only one parent was present.

Thirty-six percent of the youth served were from outside New York State and New York City, a figure which indicates that the inner-city runaway may be our most serious problem. Fifty-two percent of those whose residences were known were inner-city youths.

Nonrunaway Truants

It is noteworthy that truancy often precedes the act of running away. The literature cites academic problems and truancy as signals of the adolescent's growing dissatisfaction and frustration which if left unchecked tends to effect the runaway reaction. Howell et al. (1973) reported that 52% of the male and 44% of the female runaways interviewed spoke of major difficulties with schoolwork, school rules, and/or their relationships with teachers before they ran away. These difficulties were not precipitous. Instead they slowly accumulated resulting in a relatively sudden decision to run away from home.

The various sources contributing to truancy suggest the complexity of the problem. Moreover the fact that not all truants are runaways, despite the peripheral similarities in the reasons given for the respective behaviors, suggests a fundamentally different underlying process for these behaviors which may be modified by external events. In brief, the variables correlated with truancy include sociological, and psychological concomitants (e.g., the failing school system, the contemporary decline in the relationship between higher education and job opportuni-

ties and life satisfaction, the clash between incompatible expectations and value systems of staff and students). Which factors predominate depends upon the particular individual, the prevailing circumstances, and one's viewpoint.

What is important to this discussion are those personality and interpersonal factors which differentiate the central features of both behaviors, e.g., running away and truancy. The role and impact of parental attitudes and responsibilities toward school attendance is undoubtedly important. The attitudes of the adolescent are influenced implicitly and overtly by family and peers. In addition to external forces, the literature suggests internal forces affecting the ability to adapt and function within the school setting. Truants may be influenced more by frustrations from which they are trying to escape than by goals toward which they are striving (Namenwirth, 1969). To that extent truancy may be indicative of poor self concepts, impulsivity and low level of aspiration and accomplishment (Cervantes, 1965). Truancy promotes estrangement from a sphere of influence deemed relevant by societal standards, the consequences of which are profound and often maladaptive for later development.

Summary

The relationship between the experiential states of alienation and the runaway reaction and/or truant behavior de-emphasizes the objective factors concentrating instead on the interplay of external events and subjective reactions to them. The impact of certain objective factors which are detrimental to some people in the society has been well docu-

mented. That is, anomic conditions are differentially experienced by people from different socioeconomic backgrounds. For instance, the conflicts and situations facing poor families produce unremitting stress especially when institutional resources are either unavailable (because of their status) and/or ineffective. What is of interest is the variable reaction to the anomic conditions. There is no one response to such conditions. In terms of the proposed study what is questioned is the relationship between the real and/or perceived environmental stressors and the behavioral response of avoidance and/or withdrawal from those significant relationships and situations within the environment.

Schachtel (1962) writes:

when the lack of a sense of identity becomes conscious it is often experienced--probably always--as a feeling that compared with others one is not fully a person (p. 75).

For the adolescent runaway and truant the amended statement, "in this situation (the family and school) I am not fully a person" seems appropriate in that both behaviors, in part, reflect the young person's dissatisfaction with him/herself vis-a-vis a particular context and/or interpersonal relationship(s). It is assumed that the dissatisfaction among runaways and truants is only peripherally similar to that of the contemporaries who do not runaway or become truant. The behavior suggests that the core issue is powerlessness, the motivations for which vary according to actual life circumstances.

One might argue that an adolescent who is sensitized to issues of control and/or lack of it may over react to those events and/or persons perceived as controlling. For instance adolescents from the lower so-

cial strata may leave home sooner because the family is unable to provide the kind of support necessary to encourage them to achieve socially desired roles and/or goals. The school truant may cut classes because of some awareness that good grades will not guarantee a future topnotch career for him/her.

This researcher hypothesized that presenting subjects a staged interpersonal dialogue (between actors portraying an adolescent and family member, and an adolescent and a teacher) would expose the subject's ambivalence and sensitivities about his ability to accomplish desired outcomes within particular contexts. Moreover it was hoped that such a procedure would not only reveal the subjects' attitudes but also the quality of the emotional response to the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of the adolescent's implicit value system. It was assumed that the subject would bring to the session his/her expectations and perceptions of him/herself and others which would be revealed as a result of the impact of the specific tapes. The hypotheses are as follows:

- 1) Runaways and school truants with high and low levels of powerlessness will react differently to experimentally manipulated interpersonal interactions. Ss with high levels of powerlessness will more often view the individuals on the tapes as counterparts engaged in an antagonistic conversation from which the adolescent protagonist attempts to extricate himself. Ss with low levels of powerlessness will more often view the interaction as a cooperative effort between an adult and an adolescent concerned about the well being of the latter.

More specifically Ss scoring high on alienation measures will perceive the adolescent actor as more pessimistic, resentful, distrustful, insecure and frustrated than will Ss scoring low on the alienation measures (indicative of the alienation syndrome). In addition Ss scoring high on

the alienation measures will perceive the adult actor as more untrustworthy, domineering, and critical. The alienation literature pertaining to one's view of himself vis-a-vis various spheres of influence discusses the variety of perceptual differences between individuals with high and low states of alienation. The emotional concomitants of an awareness of powerlessness and the projection of this internal experience onto external stimuli have been demonstrated in previous studies (Davids, 1955; McClosky & Schaar, 1965; Seeman & Evans, 1962).

- 2) Runaways and school truants will differ significantly on perceptions of those situations which in reality they have avoided. That is, since these groups have indicated by their behavior a sensitivity to the family sphere among runaways, and the school among truants, their level of powerlessness within that sphere is expected to be high, precluding an objective assessment of the dialogue.

Runaways in the family context will show more responses indicative of the alienation syndrome than will truants. Truants in the school context will show more responses indicative of the alienation syndrome. The literature suggests that the experience and expression of powerlessness is not necessarily manifested in all spheres of daily life. The overt behavior of these two groups suggests difficulty in the respective spheres.

- 3) An interaction effect between the level of alienation and the two populations is hypothesized such that the response pattern on the IPA method will show significantly greater projection of the alienation syndrome among truants with high levels of alienation, and runaways with high or low levels of alienation, than among truants with low levels of alienation.

This hypothesis combines several previous findings and assumptions about alienation, its impact on perceptions, and the psychological and behav-

ioral concomitants of running away and truancy. From the literature it is evident that runaways attribute their sense of powerlessness to a number of different people or impersonal forces, i.e., their feelings of being influenced by rather than being able to influence is pervasive within the environment. In contrast, the truants' behavior suggests that the pervasiveness of the feelings of powerlessness is circumscribed within one sphere. At least the expression of this experiential state is relatively confined to one area. It may be, however, that truants who score high on alienation measures more closely approximate the perceptions and feelings of runaways and in fact may constitute that subgroup of truants who do eventually runaway. If this is the case, it is plausible to view runaways as on a continuum with truants.

- 4) Control Ss high in alienation will show significantly greater projection of the alienation syndrome than will controls scoring low on alienation measures.
- 5) No expected differences are hypothesized for the control Ss responses to the two test situations.
- 6) It is anticipated that the self report measure of alienation will correlate significantly with the projective measure of alienation for the two groups.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects for this study were 109 black female adolescents residing in the inner New York City area. The mean age of this sample was 16.8 years. With few exceptions the subjects came from families of low SES backgrounds. SES was determined by parent(s) occupation and education level. There were 31 runaway subjects. All were staying at community residence shelters at the time of this study. All but five had runaway from home two or more times. The mean length of time away from home was approximately seven months, the median was three months.

Forty-four truants were selected from an all girls high school located in New York City. Truancy was defined according to the N.Y.C. Board of Education guidelines which set the maximum number of permissible absences as 14 days per semester. Pupils absent 15 days or more are required to repeat the grade or participate in a special program for troubled youth. The number of absences was obtained from the school attendance records with the permission of the school principal. The mean number of absences for this sample was 88 days, the median was 66 days. It is noteworthy that the school year in New York City is 188 days. Only two of the truants had ever run away from home.

There were 34 control subjects selected from the same all girls high school. The mean number of absences for this sample was 5.8 days,

the median was 6.5 days. None of these subjects reported running away from home.

Measures

The growing body of measures of alienation is indicative of the variety of definitions. Moreover this plethora of measures increases the likelihood of contamination and confusion. Clark (1960), in accord with Seeman, argues that the definition of alienation must assess the "degree to which man feels powerless to achieve the role he has determined to be rightfully his in specific situations" (p. 849).

The Alienation Index Inventory, AII, developed by Turner (1975) is a scale which indicates the extent to which an individual feels that his values are not consistent with those of various groups in his socio-sphere. Thus the measure taps into feelings of estrangement or disengagement with respect to different aspects of his/her life. The scale contains nine scales suggesting the multidimensional aspects of the alienation concepts. Of the nine, two subscales (alienation from the family, and alienation from the school) was used in the present study. The 10 statements comprising this scale are followed by Likert-type response categories consisting of strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree. The test and subtest internal reliability coefficients as measured by Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient is .98 and .93 respectively. For instance, high scores on alienation from one's family suggests an individual who perceives that his family of origin has neutral to negative attitudes about either himself or his behavior which affects his/her participation as an integral part of the family structure. The

extent to which these self perceptions vis-a-vis the family and school influence one's perceptions of specific interpersonal situations is the focus of the present study.

The second alienation measure used was developed by Dean (1961). The Dean Alienation scale differentiates among powerlessness, normlessness and isolation. Of the three, the powerlessness scale was used. The eight statements comprising this subscale are followed by Likert-type response categories consisting of strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree, strongly disagree. The items were selected on the basis of inter rater agreement (5 out of 7 instructors) that the item measured the aspect in question. The reliability of the powerlessness subscale tested by the split-half technique was .78 (N of 394) when corrected by the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula.

It is noteworthy that Simmons (1966) reported a general pattern of intercorrelation among self report alienation measures. Included were Dean's questionnaire and Srole's measure from which the Turner scale is derived. The highest correlation (.53) exists between powerlessness and social isolation followed by moderate correlations of life dissatisfaction with the remaining six variables (e.g., self esteem, .42; normlessness, .33). The question arises as to whether these scales are measuring different facets of alienation or assessing the same phenomenon.

Since the literature raises some questions about the validity of the self report measures of alienation, a projective measure of alienation was also used. Davids and Rosenblatt (1959) developed a method to score TAT stories for the alienation syndrome. According to the manual, each story is scored separately for each of the eight dispositions in

the syndrome (optimism-pessimism, trust-distrust, socio-egocentricity, anxiety, and resentment). The scores are determined on the basis of two variables--the frequency and intensity with which signs of the specific personality disposition appear in the story. The frequency variable is determined in the following way: 1) single appearance is scored as 1 point, 2) two appearances are scored 2 points, and 3) three or more instances of the particular personality disposition per story is scored 3 points. The intensity of the disposition apparent in the story is also rated on a three-point scale; low strength score of 1, medium strength score of 2, disposition pronounced score 3 (determined by inter rater correlations). On the basis of the combination of these two factors a single score is assigned for the specific personality disposition for each story. In addition attention is also directed towards other dimensions represented in the stories such as the nature of the situation presented, the conclusion of the story, the identity and characteristics of the central character, and information about the storyteller.

Reliability of this TAT scoring procedure is indicated by an index of the significant correlation of .87 found between the alienation scores for 20 Ss assigned on the basis of independent scoring by two qualified raters. Moreover a statistically significant correlation of .44 was obtained between the TAT alienation ranking and the ranking based on experienced clinical evaluation of the Ss' standing on the alienation syndrome. In a second group of Ss a highly significant correlation of .67 ($p < .01$) was obtained between the TAT measure of alienation and the composite rank-order on alienation based on the Ss responses to a variety of direct and projective methods of personality

assessment.

In addition to these measures the Ss were asked to respond to a one-item measure of personal satisfaction (Kilpatrick et al., 1950).

The instructions for the latter were as follows:

Here is a picture of a ladder. Suppose we say that the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom represents the worst possible life. Where on the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time? Write the step number in the space below (a sketch of a ladder with 10 steps will be placed to the right of this statement).

The dependent measures used to assess perceptual and behavioral differences were: 1) a modified version of Osgood's (1952) Semantic Differential Scale, 2) an Empathy Scale designed for use in this study, and 3) a Self-predicted Behavior Scale designed specifically for this study.

The Semantic Differential Scale is designed to determine how the subjects evaluated various qualities of the people heard on the tape. It is used twice, once for rating the adult and again for rating the adolescent. It consists of 17 pairs of polar adjectives. Each pair of adjectives is separated by five spaces placing the word pair on a continuum for a specific characteristic. A score of 1 to 5 is possible for each pair. A score of 5 indicates that the subject perceived that the individual possessed the alienating quality of the disposition.

The Empathy Scale is a six-item questionnaire designed to assess the subjects' perceptions of the extent of understanding between the individuals. Following each question is a five-category range of responses from very much to very little. A score of 5 indicates that lit-

the empathy was perceived on that item.

The Self-predicted Behavior Scale assessed the subject's appraisal of her own reactions were she to find herself in a similar situation. The scale in its final form consisted of nine items each followed by a five-category range of responses from most likely to least likely. A score of 5 indicates that the subjects' self-predicted behavior would be alienating.

Procedure

Each subject was administered the measures individually. To avoid systematic bias subjects were tested randomly from each group. With few exceptions subjects were seen on two occasions with a two-week interim. During the first session subjects were administered the alienation measures in the following order: 1) Turner's (1975) AII, 2) Dean's (1959) Powerlessness measure, 3) Kilpatrick's (1950) Personal Satisfaction Scale, and 4) TAT cards. Afterwards, the subjects' personal experiences having a salient impact on them were recorded. Runaways were specifically queried about their reasons for leaving home.

Subjects were assessed for alienation and then divided into high and low groups on the basis of the scores obtained on the self report measures. The criterion cut-off point for placement into a high and low group was the median. In total there were six groups: high and low groups within the Runaway population; high and low alienation groups among the Truant population; and high and low alienation groups among the Controls.

Experimental Treatment

At the second session each subject was asked to listen to a taped enactment of one of two situations which was randomly presented among the groups. The mother-teacher tape was identical only the role designation was changed. The following instructions were given just prior to the tapes:

You are about to hear a conversation between Jackie and her (mother-teacher). Jackie is 16 years old. (In the mother situation the subjects were told the following: Jackie and her mother have agreed to have some of their conversations at home recorded. The tape recorder was placed in one of the rooms of their home and was recording what was happening from time to time. The recorder had an automatic timer which neither Jackie or her mother had anything to do with. This is one of many conversations they had. In the teacher situation the subjects were told the following: A tape recorder was placed in several classrooms to determine noise level. Both Jackie and her teacher were aware that from time to time the tape would be recording. The machine had an automatic device which neither Jackie or her teacher had anything to do with. This is one of many conversations that were recorded.)

I would like to get your impressions about what you hear. After hearing the tape I will ask you to answer some questions about your reactions.

Imagine what it is like to be each one of the people. That is try to put yourself in each of their places. You may find that it is easier to put yourself in the place of one person more so than another. Or you may find it easy to imagine what it must be like to be each of them.

Try to imagine what kind of person each of these people are, how they think and feel and how you feel about what's happening.

Subsequent to hearing the tapes the subjects completed the perceptual indices in the following order: 1) Semantic Differential Scales (randomly ordered), 2) Empathy Scale, and 3) Self-predicted Behavior Scale.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

In this chapter the analyses of data and the inferences drawn therefrom are presented. The techniques used for analyzing the data were the one-way factor analysis of variance, t-tests and chi-square tests. To complement this data analysis, three individual case studies are included in Appendix I to demonstrate how the issues raised in this study interrelate for specific persons.

Group Controls

In comparing the three groups an attempt was made to control for age, sex, SES and reading level. The data were analyzed by chi-square tests. The values of χ^2 obtained were not significant, permitting the assumption that there were no group differences on these control variables. In addition, data for family status (e.g., intact, one-parent, step-parent present) were analyzed by chi-square. The value of χ^2 obtained was not significant ($\chi^2 = 7.00$, $df = 8$). In Table 1 the frequencies are presented for these variables.

Reliability of Psychological Measures

Three psychological measures and an index amenable to quantification, constructed for use in the present study, were the dependent mea-

Table 1
Listing of Reading Level, Age and SES

| | Number of Subjects | | | Total |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--------|---------|-------|
| | Runaway | Truant | Control | |
| Reading Level | | | | |
| 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| 5 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 5 |
| 6 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 7 |
| 7 | 2 | 8 | 1 | 11 |
| 8 | 2 | 8 | 4 | 14 |
| 9 | 8 | 12 | 11 | 31 |
| 10 | 5 | 9 | 6 | 20 |
| 11 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 13 |
| 12 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 6 |
| | 31 | 44 | 34 | 109 |
| Age | | | | |
| 1--14.1 to 16.4 | 12 | 15 | 10 | 37 |
| 2--16.4 to 17.1 | 10 | 11 | 15 | 36 |
| 3--17.1 to 19.3 | 9 | 18 | 9 | 36 |
| | 31 | 44 | 34 | 109 |
| SES | | | | |
| 1--Welfare recipient | 15 | 11 | 8 | 34 |
| 2--Unskilled/semi-skilled laborer | 6 | 6 | 9 | 21 |
| 3--Skilled laborer/blue collar | 9 | 18 | 12 | 39 |
| 4--Professional/business | 1 | 9 | 5 | 15 |
| | 31 | 44 | 34 | 109 |

asures: 1) Turner's (1975) Alienation Inventory Index; 2) Dean's (1961) Powerlessness Scale; 3) David's (1959) Alienation Scoring of TAT stories; and 4) Semantic Differential, Empathy and Behavior scales. The reliability coefficients (Chronbach Alpha) of the self report measures ranged from .63 to .71. For the perceptual indices developed for the study the reliability coefficients ranged from .48 to .84. Moderate inter-item correlations on the self report measures and the perceptual index and, in most cases, high Chronbach Alpha values for the scale indicate that these measures are sufficiently reliable dependent variables. Tables 15 through 19 in Appendix III summarize the individual item-scale correlations and Alphas for each of these measures.

The reliability coefficients of the TAT measure of alienation were within reasonable limits on three subscales: egocentricity, distrust, and pessimism. Tables 20, 21, and 22 summarize item-scale correlations and alpha for these three subscales. The low reliability of the resentment and anxiety scales, .24 and .34 respectively, indicate that these scales are not suitable dependent variables. The correlation coefficient for the intercoder reliability on the TAT measure was .91. Due to the low reliability and inter-item correlations on these two subscales, the TAT stories were not used in the analysis of data but were referred to in the case studies for illustrative purposes.

Hypotheses

The Runaways, Truants and Controls were compared on five scales consisting in total of 51 variables. The primary hypotheses reflecting

perceptual differences among the subjects based on the level of alienation were tested along with the secondary independent variables: population (Runaway, Truant, and Control) and context (mother-daughter or teacher-student dialogue).

Response to Alienation Measures

The main hypothesis that there would be significant perceptual differences based on the context of alienation (family, school) finds support in the data. The measures used to assess alienation from the family and school were the two subscales of the AII scale (Turner, 1975): Family Alienation and School Alienation. The percent of subjects scoring high and low on the measures and the respective means and standard deviations are shown in Tables 2 through 8. The analysis of variance in Table 23 in Appendix III revealed a significant difference between groups on the Family Alienation measure ($F = 14.498, p < .001$). The t -tests comparing alienation from the family by each group revealed an expected higher level on this measure among Runaways than for Truants ($t = 3.89, p < .001$) or Controls ($t = 5.94, p < .001$). The results of the chi-square for alienation from school revealed significant differences between the groups. The percent of subjects scoring high on this scale, shown in Table 2, was greater among Truants than the other groups ($\chi^2 = 7.458, p < .05$). Table 3 shows a trend in mean scores suggesting that alienation from school is greater among Truants than Runaways and Controls respectively. No significant differences were observed on the Powerlessness scale, but the mean scores were in the expected direction. The fact that the groups responded to the measures as predicted suggests

Table 2
Percent of Subjects Scoring High and Low on Alienation
in Response to Self-report Questionnaires

| <u>Alienation</u> | Runaway | <u>Groups Truant</u> | Control |
|-------------------|---------|--------------------------|---------|
| Family | | | |
| High | 71 | 43.2 | 17.6 |
| Low | 29 | 56.8 | 82.4 |
| School | | | |
| High | 38.7 | 56.8 | 26.5 |
| Low | 61.3 | 43.2 | 73.5 |
| Powerlessness | | | |
| High | 54.8 | 52.3 | 44.1 |
| Low | 45.2 | 47.7 | 55.9 |

Table 3

Summary of the Means and Standard Deviations of the Dependent Variables by Group¹

| Variable | <u>Runaway</u> | | <u>Truant</u> | | <u>Control</u> | | F |
|------------------------------------|----------------|-------|---------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|----------|
| | Means | S.D. | Means | S.D. | Means | S.D. | |
| Family Alienation | 13.90 | 2.82 | <u>11.50</u> | 2.94 | <u>10.64</u> | 1.99 | 14.49*** |
| School Alienation | 9.61 | 2.51 | 10.68 | 2.65 | 9.55 | 2.63 | NS |
| Powerlessness | 31.35 | 5.38 | 30.38 | 5.70 | 30.14 | 4.59 | NS |
| Semantic Differential (Adult) | 49.29 | 11.69 | <u>39.95</u> | <u>10.64</u> | <u>41.44</u> | <u>11.76</u> | 9.30*** |
| Semantic Differential (Adolescent) | 61.09 | 7.75 | 60.38 | 7.17 | 62.20 | 10.39 | NS |
| Semantic Differential (Difference) | -12.67 | 17.57 | -20.77 | 14.58 | -20.85 | 16.35 | NS |
| Empathy | 22.03 | 3.98 | <u>18.63</u> | <u>4.49</u> | <u>19.50</u> | <u>4.31</u> | 4.44* |
| Self-predicted Behavior | 3.02 | 1.83 | 2.46 | 1.41 | 1.86 | 1.02 | 10.63** |

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

¹Means connected by underlining do not differ at the .05 level.

Table 4
Summary of the Means and Standard Deviations of the Adult
Semantic Differential Scale by Types of Alienation

| | Means | S.D. | F |
|-------------------------|-------|-------|----|
| Family Alienation Level | | | |
| High | 43.30 | 12.55 | NS |
| Low | 42.76 | 11.07 | |
| School Alienation Level | | | |
| High | 43.91 | 11.02 | NS |
| Low | 42.46 | 12.53 | |
| Powerlessness | | | |
| High | 44.09 | 12.88 | NS |
| Low | 42.07 | 10.84 | |

Table 5

Summary of the Means and Standard Deviations of the Adolescent
Semantic Differential Scale by Types of Alienation

| | Means | S.D. | F |
|-------------------------|-------|------|-------|
| Family Alienation Level | | | |
| High | 62.34 | 8.56 | NS |
| Low | 60.25 | 8.26 | |
| School Alienation Level | | | |
| High | 59.23 | 8.72 | 4.25* |
| Low | 62.55 | 7.96 | |
| Powerlessness | | | |
| High | 61.18 | 9.74 | NS |
| Low | 61.12 | 6.90 | |

*p < .05

Table 6
Summary of the Means and Standard Deviations of the Semantic
Differential Scale (Difference) by Types of Alienation

| | Means | S.D. | F |
|-------------------------|--------|-------|----|
| Family Alienation Level | | | |
| High | -20.34 | 16.74 | NS |
| Low | -17.89 | 15.95 | |
| School Alienation Level | | | |
| High | -15.82 | 14.80 | NS |
| Low | -20.44 | 17.16 | |
| Powerlessness | | | |
| High | -19.87 | 16.02 | NS |
| Low | -17.09 | 16.62 | |

Table 7
Summary of the Means and Standard Deviations of the
Empathy Scale by Types of Alienation

| | Means | S.D. | F |
|-------------------------|-------|------|----|
| Family Alienation Level | | | |
| High | 19.94 | 4.72 | NS |
| Low | 19.76 | 4.19 | |
| School Alienation Level | | | |
| High | 20.01 | 4.17 | NS |
| Low | 19.67 | 4.92 | |
| Powerlessness | | | |
| High | 19.96 | 4.64 | NS |
| Low | 19.77 | 4.36 | |

Table 8
Summary of the Means and Standard Deviations of the
Self-Predicted Behavior Scores by Types of Alienation

| | Means | S.D. | F |
|-------------------------|-------|------|---------|
| Family Alienation Level | | | |
| High | 24.06 | 6.59 | 10.63** |
| Low | 20.25 | 5.57 | |
| School Alienation Level | | | |
| High | 24.00 | 6.66 | 10.54** |
| Low | 20.36 | 5.58 | |
| Powerlessness | | | |
| High | 23.41 | 6.58 | 10.48* |
| Low | 20.35 | 5.63 | |

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

the validation for all three scales. A bar graph of alienation by group is presented in Figures 2, 3, and 4.

It was hypothesized that subjects scoring high on the three alienation measures would obtain higher scores on the perceptual indices. A high score on a perceptual index would suggest that the subjects perceived greater stress and conflict in the taped dialogues than did those subjects scoring low on the index. High scores would be indicative of an alienating (hostile, and uncooperative) approach; low scores would suggest a nonalienating (cooperating) approach in reacting to the participants and the substance of the taped dialogue. The data partially supported this hypothesis on two of the perceptual indices (see Tables 4 through 8). The results of the analysis of variance shown in Table 24 in Appendix III revealed a significant difference between level of family alienation on self-predicted behavior ($F = 10.632, p < .01$). Means and standard deviations for the responses on that scale are given in Table 8. The results of the t -test for high and low levels of powerlessness revealed significant differences between level of alienation and self-predicted behavior ($t = 2.61, p < .01$). Means and standard deviations for scores on the behavior scale are also given in Table 8. Significant differences of self-predicted behavior were also a function of the level of alienation from the school ($t = 3.01, p < .01$). Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 8. Table 5 reveals an unexpected result. Subjects scoring high on school alienation scored significantly lower on the Adolescent Semantic Differential Scale than did those subjects scoring low on school alienation ($t = 2.03, p < .05$). This suggests that the adolescent heard on the tape was perceived in a

Figure 2
Family Alienation by Group

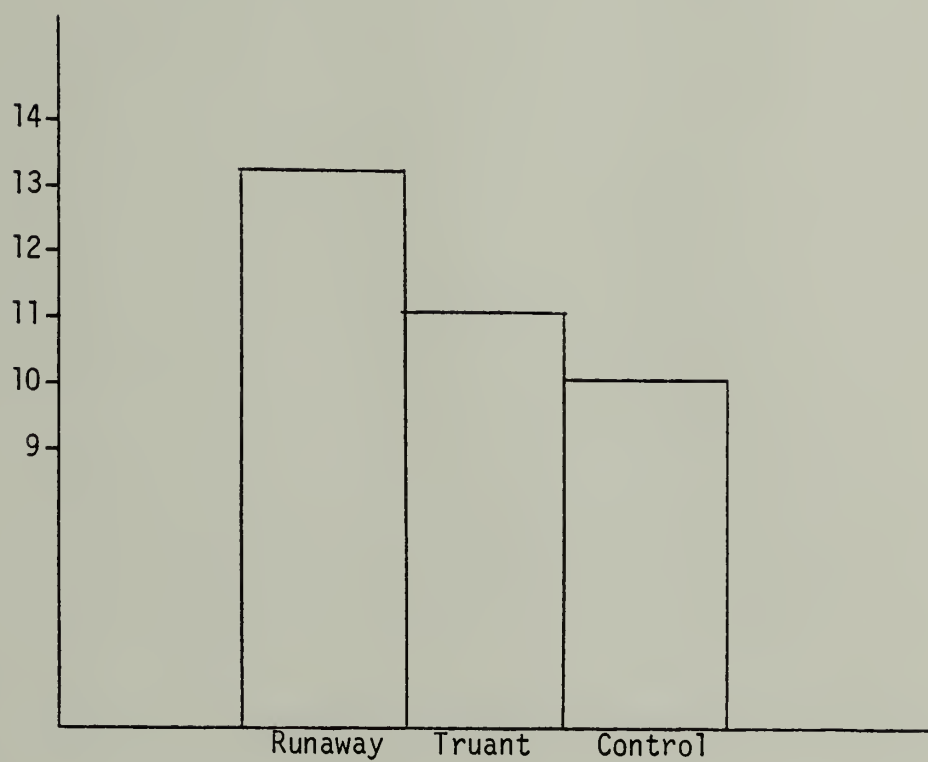


Figure 3
School Alienation by Group

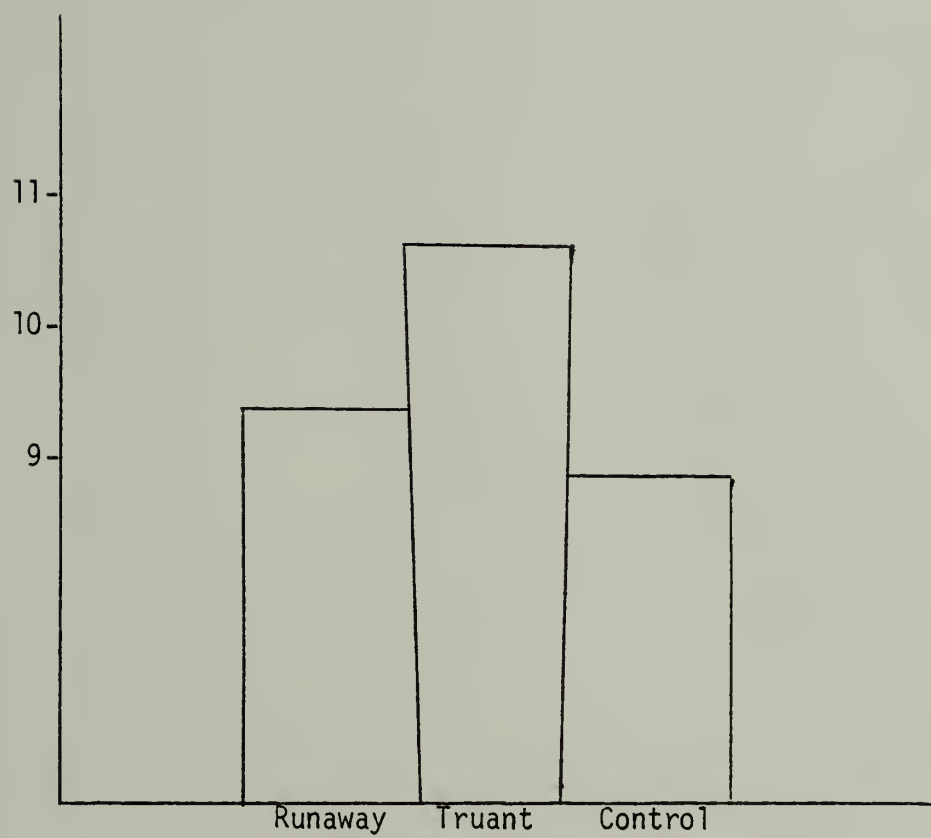
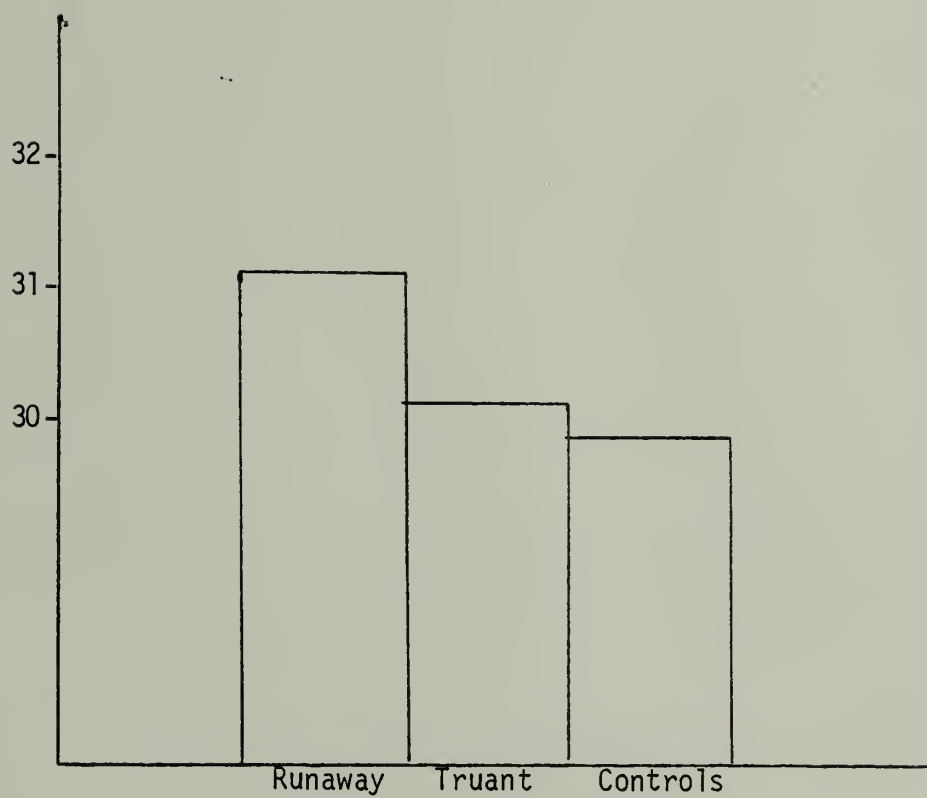


Figure 4
Powerlessness by Group



more favorable light (e.g., more cooperative) by subjects scoring high on school alienation than by those scoring low on school alienation.

A significant interaction effect was found between school alienation and tape on the Empathy scale ($F = 10.008$, $p < .01$) (see Table 25 in Appendix III). Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 9. Subjects high in school alienation perceived little difference in the amount of empathy displayed in the two contexts. Subjects scoring low on school alienation perceived more empathy in the teacher-student context than in the mother-daughter situation ($t = 5.45$, $p < .001$). In the mother-daughter situation subjects scoring high on school alienation perceived that more understanding existed than did subjects scoring low on school alienation ($t = 2.07$, $p < .05$). In the teacher-student situation no significant difference between the high and low groups was found. However the direction of the scores suggests that those low on school alienation perceived more empathy between the teacher and student than did those scoring high on school alienation.

Population and Perceptual Differences

The general hypothesis that there would be significant differences in perception when comparing the three groups was supported. The results are presented in Tables 3, 9, and 10. The analysis of variance revealed significant differences between groups on the Adult Semantic Differential scale ($F = 9.306$, $p < .001$), the Empathy scale ($F = 4.446$, $p < .05$), and three items on the Behavior scale. The means presented in Table 9 reveal that Runaways perceived more alienating characteristics for the adult than did Truants or the Controls. The t -tests shown in

Table 9
Mean and Standard Deviations for Dependent
Variables with T-Value Comparing Group Scores

| Variable | Group | Mean | SDS | T between Groups |
|------------------------------------|---------|--------|-------|------------------|
| Adult Semantic Differential | | | | |
| | Runaway | 49.29 | 11.69 | 3.53*** |
| | Truant | 39.95 | 10.64 | |
| | Runaway | 49.29 | 11.69 | 2.70** |
| | Control | 41.44 | 11.76 | |
| Semantic Differential (Difference) | | | | |
| | Runaway | -12.67 | 17.53 | 2.17* |
| | Truant | -20.77 | 14.58 | |
| Empathy | | | | |
| | Runaway | 22.03 | 3.98 | 3.44*** |
| | Truant | 18.63 | 4.49 | |
| | Runaway | 22.03 | 3.98 | 2.46* |
| | Control | 19.50 | 4.31 | |

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

Table 10
Means and Standard Deviations of Empathy by Group by Context

| Group | Context | Means | Standard Deviation |
|---------|-----------------|-------|--------------------|
| Runaway | Mother-Daughter | 23.23 | 3.56 |
| | Teacher-Student | 19.50 | 3.77 |
| Truant | Mother-Daughter | 19.50 | 5.53 |
| | Teacher-Student | 17.77 | 3.00 |
| Control | Mother-Daughter | 20.60 | 4.31 |
| | Teacher-Student | 18.63 | 4.68 |

Table 9 comparing groups on perceptual differences revealed significant differences between Runaways and Truants ($p < .001$), and Runaways and Controls ($p < .01$), but not between Truants and the Controls. The results of the t -tests revealed significant differences between Runaways and Truants on the Semantic Differential Scale (difference) ($t = 2.17$, $p < .05$). A high score on this scale indicates that subjects ascribed qualitatively different characteristics to each of the participants heard on the tape. A low score on this scale would suggest that the subjects perceived similarities in the dispositions of the adult and the adolescent. Truants were more likely to see little similarity between the two persons than were Runaways. The difference between Runaways and Controls was in the same direction and approached significance.

Table 26 in Appendix III presents the analysis of variance for the items of the Empathy scale revealing significant group differences. A high score on this scale indicates that the subject perceived little understanding existing between the adult and adolescent, suggesting problems in communicating with each other. Means and standard deviations for the Empathy scale are shown in Table 3. The results of the t -test comparison of the three groups on this scale revealed that Runaways perceived less empathy than Truants ($p < .001$) or Controls ($p < .05$). No significant differences were noted between Truants and Controls.

Most notably Runaways scored significantly higher than the other two groups on the first two of the following three items of the Empathy scale pertaining to perceptions of how much: 1) the adult understood what the adolescent was trying to say, 2) the adolescent cared about

what the adult was saying, and 3) the adolescent was able to empathize with the feelings of the adult. Control subjects unlike Runaways and Truants perceived that the adolescent did not understand what the adult was saying. This unexpected finding when considered with previous findings suggests that the differences in the perceptions of the adolescent across groups is in part determined by the attitudes towards the adult. In other words, the Controls perceived the adult as an understanding and cooperative individual therefore the conflict evident on the tape was attributed to the inability of the adolescent to comprehend the good intentions of the adult. Runaways and Truants perceived the adult less favorably than the Controls and therefore were less likely to perceive the adolescent's inability to empathize as the source of the conflict.

Responses on the Behavior Scale also demonstrate significant differences among the groups. The summary of the analysis of variance is shown in Table 27 in Appendix III. Means and standard deviations for three items of this scale are shown in Table 11. Runaways consistently predicted that in a similar situation such as the one heard on the tape they would be more likely to act in a way that would be disruptive. The Controls predicted that they would most likely cooperate with the adult and seek advice. The Truants' mean scores were lower than those of the Runaways but consistently higher than the mean scores of the Controls.

Context

This hypothesis stated that perceptions would be different between Runaways and Truants for the two contexts (mother-daughter dialogue, and teacher-student dialogue). Runaways were expected to score higher than

Table 11

Means and Standard Deviations for Three Behavior Scale Items by Group

| Item | Group | Means | Standard Deviation |
|--|---------|-------|--------------------|
| Do What You Were Told | | | |
| | Runaway | 3.73 | 1.85 |
| | Truant | 3.09 | 1.62 |
| | Control | 2.32 | 1.48 |
| Agree With What Is Said And Ask For Help | | | |
| | Runaway | 2.80 | 1.75 |
| | Truant | 2.45 | 1.28 |
| | Control | 1.97 | .96 |
| Leave Without Saying Anything | | | |
| | Runaway | 2.54 | 1.91 |
| | Truant | 1.86 | 1.35 |
| | Control | 1.29 | .62 |

Truants or the Controls on the perceptual indices after hearing the mother-daughter dialogue. Controls on the indices after hearing the teacher-student dialogue. No differences were expected for the Controls hearing either dialogue.

A significant main effect for context was found on the Adult Semantic Differential Scale ($F = 19.254$, $p < .001$), the Empathy Scale ($F = 9.690$, $p < .01$) and three items on the Behavior Scale. Summaries of the analyses of variance for the behavior scores are shown in Table 28 in Appendix III. Means and standard deviations for the scales are shown in Tables 12 and 13. The above analysis reveals that subjects perceived more stress and conflict in the mother-daughter situation. Mean scores were highest among Runaways. The difference in the rating of the mother by the Runaways and Controls approached significance in the expected direction ($p = .08$). Runaways and the Controls perceived the teacher to be more alienating than did the Truants ($t = 2.30$, $p < .05$; $t = -2.37$; $p < .05$). This anomalous finding can be explained by the Truants' previous experiences with teachers in contrast to the teacher heard on the tape. Generally, teachers at the high school level are not likely to demonstrate as much interest in the personal problems of the student as the tape suggests. That is, truants are more accustomed to teachers who express neutral to negative interest in their lives. Upon hearing the teacher tape, truants may well have been encouraged by the interest shown, and consequently responded more favorably towards the teacher than the other two groups.

Table 12 also presents the means and standard deviations of the Semantic Differential scale (difference). Runaways perceived similarity

Table 12
Summary of the Means and Standard Deviations of the
Dependent Variables by Context

| Variable | Mother-Daughter | | Teacher-Student | | F |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|-------|-----------------|-------|----------|
| | Means | S.D. | Means | S.D. | |
| Adult Semantic Differential | | | | | |
| | 47.48 | 10.67 | 38.05 | 11.27 | 20.06*** |
| Adolescent Semantic Differential | | | | | |
| | 61.79 | 8.38 | 60.43 | 8.47 | NS |
| Semantic Differential (Difference) | | | | | |
| | -15.39 | 15.25 | -22.01 | 16.88 | 4.62* |
| Empathy | | | | | |
| | 21.13 | 4.66 | 18.43 | 3.83 | 10.75** |
| Self-predicted Behavior | | | | | |
| | 23.82 | 6.46 | 19.70 | 5.36 | 12.90*** |

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

Table 13
Means and Standard Deviations of Adult Semantic Differential
Scale by Group by Context

| Group | Context | Means | Standard Deviation |
|---------|-----------------|-------|--------------------|
| Runaway | | | |
| | Mother-Daughter | 50.85 | 8.00 |
| | Teacher-Student | 46.00 | 17.20 |
| Truant | | | |
| | Mother-Daughter | 46.68 | 10.61 |
| | Teacher-Student | 33.22 | 4.96 |
| Control | | | |
| | Mother-Daughter | 43.93 | 13.12 |
| | Teacher-Student | 39.47 | 10.50 |

in the dispositions of the adult and adolescent for both contexts. The differences in the perception of the dispositions among Runaways and Controls approached significance in the expected direction ($p < .06$).

From the analyses above, significant variations in social perception among these groups was reflected. Significant results were found for the main effects for alienation level, group, and context. It was shown that alienated subjects tended to perceive greater stress and conflict between the interactants when led to believe that they were a mother and daughter. The source of the conflict was projected onto the mother. Non-alienated subjects also perceived more conflict in the mother-daughter situation but to a lesser degree. Unlike the alienated subjects, they attributed the adolescent's oppositional attitude as the source of the conflict. Runaways' perceptions were similar to those of alienated subjects. The Control subjects' responses were similar to the nonalienated subjects. Truants' responses placed in the middle range. They perceived less alienation than the Runaways but more than the Controls.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The general purpose of this study was to address this question: Is the alienation construct useful for understanding differences among three distinct groups of adolescent females? Specifically, the study tested the association between alienation and presumed differences in social perceptions among Runaway youth, Truants and a Control group. It was hypothesized that the cognitive and emotional state of powerlessness, experienced in varying degrees within two social contexts (family and school) by three groups, was the principal dynamic affecting perceptual differences.

Inherent in the research question are several assumptions critical to the discussion. The phenomenology of alienation is conceptualized as a dynamic experiential process most usefully considered within the contexts in which it arises and those where it is expressed. This suggests that alienation encompasses more than the static personal character trait heretofore presented in some of the psychological and sociological literature (Merton, 1964; Srole, 1956). In considering such a dynamic process as operating within certain contexts, it becomes necessary to assess other variables operating to evoke cognitions and behaviors associated with alienation.

In the light of the literature on runaways and truants, the present researcher, in attempting to understand the basis for differences across

groups, focused upon relationships with significant adult figures. In the family situation the mother-daughter relationship was examined. The teacher-student relationship was studied in the school situation. Although the two relationships are not identical in the pervasive influence each has on an adolescent, within the domain of each context the commonalities become apparent. Both are authority figures who provide support and guidance. These adults also serve as models of social behavior and personal development which the adolescent can imitate. In this study another common feature was sex. Both were adult females. The elements promoting the development of alienation are to be found in the quality of such relationships and in the meaning ascribed to such relationships by the adolescent.

Stokol (1974) theorizes that the dynamic source of alienation (in this case powerlessness) is disillusionment which is induced by a persistent decline in an ongoing relationship in which one no longer obtains desired outcomes. He states:

The experience of alienation is conceptualized as a sequential-developmental process which (a) develops in the context of an ongoing relationship between an individual and another person or group of people; (b) involves an unexpected deterioration in the quality of outcomes provided to the individual by the other(s); and (c) persists to the extent that the individual and the other(s) remain spatially or psychologically proximal. . . . The analysis (of alienation) incorporates three fundamental components: (a) a set of antecedent conditions, deriving from one's physical/social environment, which engenders (b) a specific psychological experience having motivational overtones, and expressed as (c) a set of behavioral manifestations (pp. 26-27).

The quality of the declining relationship and the reasons for its decline seem to differ for the two contexts focused upon here. Discussion

of the differences and consequent implications of running away and truancy is presented in Appendix I.

Other important issues involve the predictive abilities of the alienation measures and the significance of the differences obtained. The studies of Moos (1974), Davids (1955a, 1955b) and Gottschalk (1969, 1972) provide compelling evidence that measures of cognitive and emotional states of alienation are salient indicators of perceptual and behavioral differences. In the present study the findings lend additional support to that conclusion. The groups responded to the alienation measures as predicted. In view of the samples used in this study, these findings are not surprising. What is more interesting and important to ascertain is the meaning of the observed differences.

One answer to this question can be found in the relationship between the measures of alienation and the single item scale of personal satisfaction with one's life at present. The fact that Runaways were the least satisfied with their lives, followed by Truants and Controls respectively, suggests in itself some validation for this simple rating. In terms of the extent of behaviorally expressed dissatisfaction, it seems clear that running away from home is the most extreme (see Table 14). Significant differences in personal satisfaction were also a function of the level of family alienation and powerlessness ($F = 4.130$, $p < .05$; $F = 11.888$, $p < .001$). While significance was not obtained for school alienation, the mean scores were in the expected direction.

One might argue that the findings suggest two independent conditions (e.g., alienation and another salient dimension elucidating the common factors in running away and truancy). However, it is the conten-

Table 14
Means and Standard Deviations of Personal Satisfaction

| Group | Means | Standard Deviation |
|-------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Runaway | 5.06 | 1.99 |
| Truant | 5.68 | 1.86 |
| Controls | 6.14 | 1.35 |
| Family Alienation | | |
| High | 5.25 | 2.02 |
| Low | 5.95 | 1.55 |
| School Alienation | | |
| High | 5.36 | 2.03 |
| Low | 5.85 | 1.58 |
| Powerlessness | | |
| High | 5.09 | 1.91 |
| Low | 6.22 | 1.47 |

tion of this researcher that the behavior is a manifestation of dissatisfaction presumably emanating initially from a precarious relationship. What the PS (personal satisfaction) scale may have assessed is the pervasiveness of the dissatisfaction and the consequent alteration in attitudes about the self and others vis-a-vis certain significant contexts.

Where there are alternative courses of action and/or the associative link in the relationship is weak, running away and truancy can be viewed as simple approach/avoidance patterns of behavior minus the consequent cognitive and emotional changes characteristic of an alienation syndrome. Attitudinal changes are said to occur when dissatisfaction persists because no alternative avenues exist within the context to remedy the undesirable but necessary association (e.g., mother-daughter relationship). The alienation paradigm presupposes the emergence of internal and/or external constraints that promote frustration and eventually lead to these altered cognitive and emotional states. This point is essential to understanding the interface between alienation and the manifest behavior of these two groups.

Alienation Level

In view of the research cited earlier, a main effect for powerlessness was predicted. It was hypothesized that the subjects' reactions toward taped conversations between an adult and an adolescent would be significantly more negative among those scoring high on the powerlessness measure than among individuals assessed to have a low level of powerlessness. The hypothesis as stated was partially supported. A

significant difference was found between the high and low groupings on self-predicted behavior. Subsequent to hearing the tape, subjects indicated what their hypothetical behavioral response would be were they to find themselves in a similar situation. Subjects high on powerlessness specified significantly more hostile, uncooperative reactions than subjects scoring low on powerlessness. Powerlessness might be associated conceptually with egocentricity and hostility directed outward because egocentricity is one of the five dispositions characterizing the alienation syndrome (Davids, 1959). The most notable feature of this disposition is self-centeredness, an orientation whereby the needs of the individual are wittingly or unintentionally met at the expense of, or through the manipulation of others. The present finding is consistent with this formulation.

The correspondence between hostility and the forms of alienation distinguished by Seeman (1959) comprises a typology of cognitive and emotional expressions (Gottschalk, 1972; Manderscheid, Silbergeld, & Dager, 1975). According to Gottschalk (1972) when experiencing powerlessness one expresses "adversely critical, angry, assaultive, asocial impulses and drives towards objects outside oneself" (p. 33). Moreover the individual perceives others as "adversely criticizing, depreciating, blaming, expressing anger, and dislik[ing] of other human beings" (p. 33). In view of the finding on this variable it seems that the "alienated" subjects perceived the adult in the ways mentioned above. It is plausible to assume that these subjects accepted the suggested relationship between the taped participants and identified with the adolescent, thereby projecting their own experiences of frustration emanating from a

relationship perceived as analogous to the one heard. Subjects scoring low on powerlessness may have undergone a similar identification process but the experiences projected onto the taped situation were qualitatively different. Thus, more cooperative behaviors were proffered. In other words, differences in perception are to be found in the quality of past relationships rather than in differing thought processes. No significant differences were found on the remaining dependent variables on the powerlessness dimension.

The hypothesis as stated omits the other two measures of alienation. This omission in part reflects the conceptual distinction between the phenomenology of alienation and the context in which it occurs (Turner, 1975). Empirically the distinction seems to be less clear. In the present study significant differences in self-predicted behavior were also a function of the level of family and school alienation in the expected direction.

The congruent results for the three measures can be explained in at least two ways. Simmons (1966) argues that the experiential boundaries purportedly measured by self report questionnaires are not clearly demarcated. In this study the correlations between the family and school measures of alienation with the powerlessness measure were significant ($r = .33, p < .001$; $r = .25, p < .01$ respectively). However, the strength of association between the family and school measures of alienation was weak by comparison ($r = .00, p < .50$), suggesting that the measures are tapping different dimensions. It may be that while the context is perceived as dissimilar, the interpersonal correlates of alienation within each context may be perceived as similar, thereby eli-

citing comparable behavioral responses on self-predicted behavior.

A second main effect for school alienation was found for the description of the taped adolescent. Contrary to prediction, subjects scoring high on school alienation described the adolescent in a more positive light than did subjects scoring low on school alienation. One plausible explanation for this finding is that alienated subjects, identifying with the adolescent, were motivated by defensiveness and therefore perceived the adolescent more positively. In other words those high on school alienation "heard themselves" while listening to the tape and minimized the antagonism perceived. Those subjects low on school alienation may have "overreacted" to the taped adolescent's comments perceiving her to be excessively assertive and antagonistic.

A significant interaction effect between level of school alienation and context on perceived empathy between the taped participants, suggests a somewhat different view. Alienated subjects perceived no significant differences in the participants' understanding of each other in either context. Subjects low on school alienation felt that more understanding existed between the teacher and student than between the mother and daughter. In view of the lack of empathy perceived by the alienated subjects it is possible that they felt the adolescent's behavior was justified and therefore approved of her actions. One subject who measured high on school alienation replied,

She was just telling the teacher that she got a mind of her own and she can do what she wants. Everybody's telling her what she should learn and nobody's asking. . .the tape is the joint (an expression of approval).

In contrast, those subjects low on alienation might have seen the adolescent's behavior as unwarranted in the school situation because of the understanding attributed to the teacher.

Group Differences by Context

The general hypothesis that there would be significant perceptual differences among the three groups for context was supported. The results suggest that the salient difference between the groups is more complex than can be explained by context per se, especially when considering the different functions inherent in the two types of interpersonal relationships and the groups' previous experience with similar relationships.

A main effect for context was found for the adult description. Mean scores indicate that all groups tended to perceive the "mother" as more alienating than the "teacher." For truants the difference was significant. In addition all groups perceived more understanding between the teacher and student than between the mother and daughter, and indicated that in a similar situation they would be more cooperative with the teacher. That there is agreement among the scales developed for the study confirms their validity.

More importantly, the variance in mother/teacher description is probably attributable to differential role functioning. The differential role functioning may shed light on the concomitants of stress and conflict within both contexts. Both mother and teacher represent authority within each context, however the domain of the teacher is time,

place and task specific. As such the demands and expectations of this relationship are presumably explicit. Also the inherent time and place constraints can provide a necessary distance in the relationship which can potentially maximize its positive qualities as well as those of the teacher, while minimizing negative aspects. That is, teachers can be viewed as educated, unselfish, objective individuals whose primary goal is to assist others wanting the benefits of an education. They can serve as models, exemplifying everything the student would like to emulate precisely because of the intermittent contact and specified sphere of influence.

This is not necessarily the case in a parent/child relationship where traditionally parenting implies an ongoing commitment of 18 to 21 years to supervise, counsel and assume responsibility for nurturing a child until s/he becomes a young adult. In an era when impermanence, transition and specialization are the mode, it is no wonder that this commitment can be critically challenged and undermined by personal and impersonal forces (e.g., financial difficulties, illness, death, psychological or real abandonment).

When the parent/child relationship founders, the perceptions of both parent and child about what is happening and more importantly why, become obscured by the needs of both to vindicate their consequent thoughts, feelings and actions vis-a-vis each other (Foster, 1962). DeeDee, a runaway, came to a runaway home after receiving a severe beating from her stepfather. During an interview with this researcher she described an earlier incident with her mother that illustrates the ill-effects of distrust and vindication. Her mother accused DeeDee of

stealing \$20. DeeDee denied taking the money but was forced to remove her clothes so that her mother could skin search her for the missing money. DeeDee was humiliated by both the accusation and her mother's actions. Moreover when the missing money was found where her mother had left it, DeeDee felt murderous rage towards "this crazy woman." DeeDee says,

Afterwards she had the nerve to say, "It's a good thing I didn't find the money on you cause that would've been your ass."

Because of the motives imputed to the adult, the adolescent may avail him/herself of relationships and experiences (some harmful) outside the parental domain. Moreover the adolescent may impute similar motivations to other adults, i.e., generalizing the perceptions of one to others.

In this study the Controls and Truants seem to be more cognizant of differences in the mother/teacher relationship than are Runaways. The finding that Truants' ratings of the teacher were significantly more positive than the Controls' may be an indication of the extent to which Truants have felt deprived of a meaningful teacher/student relationship. That is, the teacher is perceived to be genuinely interested in the total well being of the student. It can be inferred that Truants responded more favorably to the teacher, who by her conversation extended the boundaries of the relationship not for punitive, selfish reasons, but out of her concern for a student who appeared to be in trouble. One truant summed it up this way,

"She ain't like no teacher I ever had. . . . I could tell she cared. . . . What school did you say she teaches at?"

Another student who had no attendance problems and was in good academic standing expressed another sentiment,

"I don't see where it's any teacher's business what kind of friends a girl has as long as she's doing the work. . . . She didn't sound like she was doing the work though."

The overall results for the Runaway group are in agreement with previous studies on runaways (Jenkins, 1971; Howell et al., 1973; Levinson & Mezi, 1970). It seems that the general context had minimal affect on Runaways' preconceptions of adult motivation vis-a-vis adolescent interests and activities. Gottschalk's (1972) cognitive and emotional formulation aptly describes the perceptions of this sample. Both adult and adolescent were perceived as critical, uncooperative and antagonistic (e.g., higher mean score on the semantic differential/combined difference).

Alienation Level and Group Differences

The results of the study failed to support hypothesis III which stated that all Runaways and Truants with high levels of powerlessness would perceive more conflict than would Truants with low levels of alienation. The overall findings suggest that runaways can be placed on a continuum with truants. On all of the alienation measures Runaways' mean scores were higher than the Truants', except on school alienation where the order was reversed.

Stokols (1974) specifies two types of constraints promoting disillusionment and subsequent behavioral responses. This theory seems ap-

plicable to what is occurring here with Runaways and Truants. The two constraints are personal thwarting and neutral thwarting. In the former, the alienated individual perceives that another's actions are purposely directed towards him with the intent of obstructing his/her desired goals. According to the theory, one's experience of personal thwarting is more acute because of the motivation attributed to the "thwarting" agent and the heightened element of rejection. In contrast, when neutral thwarting prevails the obstruction is not perceived as arising from any intentional behavior nor is the effect experienced as a direct affront. Instead, other external factors are seen as hindrances undermining the relationship. Reconciliation is more likely to occur when there is neutral thwarting, precisely because external stressors can be modified, provided alternatives exist and are explored. To conclude that runaways are primarily experiencing personal thwarting and truants are reacting to neutral thwarting may be misleading.

To better understand the forces affecting these groups the descriptive statistics on the Runaways generated from the study are considered. Since no significant differences were found between the Controls and Truants on the variables to be considered, the results are applicable to them as well. The subjects were black adolescent females, who prior to running away lived in the greater New York City area. That is, these females ran away to centers within 15 miles of their homes. This finding indicates that this sample may not be generally representative of all runaways because the quest for travel, adventure and new surroundings is believed to be an important determinant in running away.

Most came from poor families: 45% welfare recipients; 19% semi-

skilled or skilled laborers; 29% blue collar workers; and 3% professional people. According to the Runaways' knowledge, only 35% of these parents had completed high school and an additional 6% had had some college. One-parent families (usually the mother) constituted 45% of the population sample. In 26% of the families, a step-parent was present. The families where both parents were present comprised 20% of the population. The remaining 9% of the Runaways were living with other relatives (aunts, grandparents) prior to running away. The average age of the mothers of this sample was 38. For the most part the subjects had far less contact with their fathers; therefore the average age of 42 is an estimation.

One can surmise the extent of neutral-thwarting experienced by both adult and adolescent from this background. However, the statistics for the Truants and the Controls are not significantly different so it is plausible to assume that they too are experiencing neutral-thwarting. What then are the variables affecting running away and truancy? I think the facts speak for themselves. The family structure as we know it is undergoing a corrosive deterioration evidenced by the disproportionately high numbers of families that have experienced major separations between parents and children.

In this study 80% of the subjects have experienced separation from a parent. The psychic ramifications of these family disruptions are expressed in innumerable ways depending on the psychological history of those involved. Those who are least equipped psychologically to survive the alienating social forces are most likely to experience personal-thwarting as well (at least there is now someone to blame for what is

happening).

Considering the emotional strain on the parent(s) of these two samples in adapting to the difficulties faced daily, when does one have the time or the inclination to be responsive to the needs of the adolescent or to recognize what these needs are? Theory states that individuating, i.e., separating from the family sphere of influence while simultaneously striving for autonomous functioning, is the important psychological task of this phase of development.

Developing autonomy during this period requires a reciprocity between parent and adolescent such that the parent relinquishes spheres of dominance and control as the adolescent matures intellectually and emotionally to assume self reliance. This process is seemingly attenuated in the families of runaways and perhaps truants as well. Stierlin (1975) using a family perspective theorizes that there are three transactional modes prevalent in these families: binding, expelling, and delegating (the latter refers to the parents assigning a "mission" or function the child must accomplish irrespective of the child's innate abilities or proclivities). The sources of these three modes supposedly stem from several interrelated variables, namely, the parents' middle-age crisis, the parents' marital relationship and lastly the parents' relationships to their own parents (three-generational perspective). The studies by Szurek and Johnson (1952) support this premise. It was shown that parents inadvertantly encourage the child to "act out" the libidinal wishes of the parents.

Many adolescents are leaving home earlier (either emotionally or physically) to establish themselves in the world, but they often do so

without much forethought (see case histories). Some become "street wise" gaining knowledge that embodies the most skeptical and caustic analysis of the "American Dream." One truant argued with this researcher about the insignificance of an education. To paraphrase her, she said,

The school scene is just a game. You go to school and get good grades. Then you go to college and get a degree. Then you get a job and after working hard 10, 15 years you're successful, right? Wrong! I'm a success now. I make a lotta money now, dealing you know, so who needs an education?! Dealing is the superjoint!

The prospects for adolescents from such backgrounds are not totally bleak. One of the Control subjects showed this researcher a book she had just withdrawn from the library. It was entitled, Parents and Teenagers: Getting Through to Each Other by Albrecht. She, like so many others in the sample, was having a difficult time discussing certain issues with her mother. Unlike some of the others, she was determined to find a way to make her mother understand her need to experience some things for herself.

Correlation between Self Report and Projective Measures

The general hypothesis that there would be significant correlations between the self report and projective measures of alienation was supported. In this study the correlations between the TAT stories, family alienation and powerlessness measures were significant ($r = .29$, $p < .001$; $r = .22$, $p < .01$ respectively). This finding suggests that the elements promoting alienation can be assessed by different methods. In

this study the measures differed by the degree of inference used to determine the extent of alienation. With the self report measure, information about the condition was obtained directly from the individual's assessment of her own thoughts and feelings. The projective measure inferred the thoughts and feelings suggestive of alienation from TAT stories. Also, the significant correlations between the measures suggests that the subjects of this study were aware of their affective state and able to convey their attitudes on the self report measures. It seems that their behavior, running away and truancy, was in part an outgrowth of their awareness.

Implications

The present study explored the differences in social perception among runaways, truants and a control population. The attempt here was to correlate the global behaviors involved (e.g., running away) with the cognitive and emotional states of alienation, which are understood to stem from interpersonal factors within the family and school settings.

The findings of this study suggest that interpersonal alienation is a salient factor influencing social perceptions of adolescents experiencing difficulties at home and at school. Maintaining distance from others perceived to be critical and hostile, in addition to assuming a hostile and egocentric attitude, tends to mitigate the experiential states. Those adolescents who are experiencing alienation are more likely to feel dissatisfied with their lives and express a pessimistic view of their future, especially when they perceive someone else as in-

tentionally thwarting their efforts.

The problems facing runaways and truants and their respective means of coping can be placed on a continuum. Runaways were less positively responsive to the two adults than were the Truants and Controls. The latter two groups responded more favorably to the teacher than to the mother, suggesting that differential roles were ascribed to each, perhaps as a function of both the context and the perceived empathy expressed by the adults. There was ample evidence that the Truants sampled in this study were not totally disengaged from the school setting. Many were often in close proximity to the school during school hours. They were sometimes found by the investigator in nearby coffeeshops and the park. Staying away from classes but remaining in the vicinity of the school poses a perplexing problem for parents and educators concerned about truancy. What are the needs of truants and how might they be handled? Their response to the teacher tape as well as their peripheral contact with the school suggest that school is important to them. To succeed in school these students may need and readily welcome the attention of an interested teacher who, acting as an incentive, might enable these students to participate in school rather than remain on its fringes.

It seems that contextual variables play an important role in the expression and/or the experience of alienation. That is, an individual learns to adapt to the occurrences of his/her daily life. Some of the adaptive behaviors may be based on the experience of alienation within certain contexts and interpersonal relationships. Manderscheid, Silbergeld and Dager (1975) view alienation as an intervening variable contin-

gent upon external conditions. The individual can enact adaptive strategies to lessen the impact of the external stress. Identifying the stressors, then, is an important step to eliminating them.

Studies like the present one will enable people to gain knowledge about different contextual variables affecting certain target groups identified by their behavior vis-a-vis certain situations. More importantly, studies like the present one can continue to explore and assess the particular aspects of the alienation experience and determine who is capable of developing adaptive strategies and under what circumstances. Future studies may possibly aid in averting conflicts by specifying the sources of stress and planning short and long range interventions at both the societal and individual levels.

Among the Runaways sampled in this study the difficulty was adjusting to rejection and/or eviction by the parent(s). Their hostility and rebelliousness were exacerbated by the subtle and/or blatant messages from the parent(s). In most cases it was difficult to distinguish between a "throwaway" and a "runaway" because the parental expressions of rejection and eviction were influential in the adolescents' running away. Unlike most runaways, this sample's behavior may be understood as the intent to leave home early. These females wanted to continue their education, find a job and live in their own apartments. They discussed reconciliation with family members after these goals were accomplished. Their plans, however, were thwarted by the present social realities and they returned home where the pre-existing conflicts re-emerged.

The present study demonstrated the ability of the alienation measures to detect acute and chronic cognitive and emotional changes attri-

buted to the presence of alienation. Not all runaways and truants are experiencing alienation but those who are may develop an interpersonal style that precludes future rewarding experiences if they go undetected in a network of social agencies designed to assist the "runaway culture" of our times.

Limitations

An extension of the present study using contextual variables other than the adult/adolescent relationship may throw light on any other differences between the social perceptions of runaways and truants. The interpersonal dimension examined in this study does not exhaust the possibilities of those verbal communications and nonverbal behaviors inherent in an interpersonal encounter. The present study focused on audio stimuli without systematically analyzing such important variables as voice tone, or content. A more rigorous design may elucidate nuances of behavior which in this study were imperceptable.

This study used only one of the forms of alienation described by Seeman (1959). It may be that comparisons of the other forms may produce different results on the perception indices.

The group selection process may have contaminated some of the findings. That is, Runaways were selected from runaway centers where it is understood that one has left home because of problems causing tremendous dissatisfaction. Thus, when asked about reasons for leaving one is more likely to stress family problems when other reasons for leaving may exist. In addition the three populations came from two sources, runaway

centers and an all girls' high school. The Truants and the Controls were interviewed at the school. The experience of attending an all girls' high school is clearly not representative of the majority of truants. Moreover the Runaways, the majority of whom were attending other high schools in the area, had a different frame of reference when responding to school items than did the Truants or Controls.

Despite some limitations in this study, it has been shown that alienation is a useful construct in understanding differences in social perceptions. Also it has been shown that runaways and truants experiencing high levels of powerlessness exhibit behaviors and cognitions characteristic of an alienation syndrome. This study, then, is presented as an exploratory investigation of the cognitive and emotional correlates of alienation affecting social perceptions and behavior of a specific sample of troubled youth.

REFERENCES

- Anthony, E. Two contrasting types of adolescent depression and their treatment. Journal of American Psychoanalysis Association, 1970, 18, 841-859.
- Becker, J. Testimony before the New York State Assembly Standing Committee on Child Care, Press Release, November 30, 1976.
- Cervantes, L. Family background, primary relationships and the high school dropout. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1965, 5, 218-223.
- Clark, J. Measuring alienation within a social system. American Sociological Review, 1960, 24, 849-952.
- Clinard, M. Anomie and deviant behavior. New York: Free Press, 1964.
- Cloward, R. Illegitimate means, anomie and deviant behavior. American Sociological Review, 1959, 24, 164-176.
- Cohen, A. Delinquent boys. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1955.
- Dauids, A. Alienation, social apperception and ego structure. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1955, 19(Feb.), 21-27.
- Dauids, A. Generality and consistency of relations between the alienation syndrome and cognitive processes. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1955, 51(July), 61-67.
- Dauids, A. & Rosenblatt, D. Use of the TAT in assessment of the personality syndrome of alienation. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1959, , 145-152.

- Dean, D. Alienation: Its meaning and measurement. American Sociological Review, 1961, 26(5), 753-758.
- Durkheim, E. Sociology and philosophy. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953.
- Erikson, E. Identity: Youth and crisis. New York: Norton, 1968.
- Foster, R. M. Intrapsychic and environmental factors in running away from home. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1962, 32, 486-491.
- Fromm, E. The sane society. New York: Rinehart, 1955.
- Gold, M. Juvenile delinquency as a symptom of alienation. Journal of Social Issues, 1969, 25(2), 121-135.
- Gottschalk, L. An objective method of measuring psychological states associated with change in neural function: Content analysis of verbal behavior. Biological Psychiatry, 1972, 4, 33-41.
- Gottschalk, L., & Gleser, G. The measurement of psychological states through the content analyses of verbal behavior. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
- Harkins, A. Alienation and related concepts. Kansas Journal of Sociology, 1965, 1, 78-89.
- Horton, J. The dehumanization of anomie and alienation: A problem in the ideology of sociology. British Journal of Sociology, 1964, 15, 283-300.
- Howell, M., Emmons, E., & Frank, D. Reminiscences of runaway adolescents. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1973, 43(5), 840-853.
- Jaffe, L. Delinquency proneness and family anomie. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 1963, 54, 146-154.
- Jenkins, R. The runaway reaction. American Journal of Psychiatry,

- 1971, 128(2), 168-173.
- Johnson, A. M., & Szurck, S. The genesis of antisocial acting out in children and adults. Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 1952, 21, 313-343.
- Justice, B., & Duncan, D. Running away: An epidemic problem of adolescence. Adolescence, 1976, 11(43), 365-371.
- Killian, L., & Grigg, M. Urbanism, race and anomia. American Journal of Sociology, 1962, 67, 661-665.
- Kilpatrick, F., & Cantril, H. Self anchoring scaling: A measure of individuals' unique reality worlds. Journal of Individual Psychology, 1960, 16, 158-173.
- Lemert, E. Social structure, social control and deviation. In M. Clinard (Ed.), Anomie and deviant behavior. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964, 57-97.
- Leventhal, T. Inner control deficiencies in runaway children. Archives of General Psychiatry, 1964, 11, 170-176.
- Manderscheid, R., Silbergeld, S., & Dager, E. Alienation: A response to stress. Journal of Cybernetics, 1975, 5(1), 91-105.
- Marwell, G. Adolescent powerlessness and delinquent behavior. Social Problems, 1966, 14, 35-47.
- Marx, K. Alienated labor. In E. Josephson & M. Josephson (Trans.), Man alone. New York: Dell Publishing, 1962, 93-105.
- McClosky, H. & Schaar, J. Psychological dimensions of anomie. American Sociological Review, 1965, 30, 14-40.
- McConville, B. & Boag, L. Dropouts without drugs. Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 1973, 12(2), 333-353.
- Meier, D., & Bell, W. Anomia and differential access to the achievement

- of life goals. American Sociological Review, 1959, 24, 189-208.
- Merton, R. Anomie, anomia, and social interaction: Contexts of deviant behavior. In M. Clinard (Ed.), Anomie and deviant behavior. New York: Free Press, 1964, 213-242.
- Merton, R. Social structure and anomie: Continuities. In Social theory and social structure, rev. ed. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957.
- Mizruchi, E. Social structure and anomia in a small city. American Sociological Review, 1960, 25, 645-654.
- Moos, K. H. Evaluating treatment environments: A social ecological approach. New York: Wiley, 1974.
- Namenwirth, J. Failing in New Haven: An analysis of high school graduates and dropouts. Social Forces, 1969, 48, 23-
- Noshpitz, J. Certain cultural and familial factors contributing to adolescent alienation. Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 1973, 12(2), 216-223.
- Osgood, C. E. The nature and measurement of meaning. Psychological Bulletin, 1952, 49, 197-237.
- Plasek, W. Marxist and American sociological conceptions of alienation: Implications for social problems theory. Social Problems, 1974, 21, 316-328.
- Reimer, M. Runaway children. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1940, 10, 522-528.
- Rhodes, A. Anomia, aspiration and status. Social Forces, 1964, 42, 434-440.
- Robey, A., Rosenwald, R., Snell, J., & Lee, R. The runaway girl--a re-

- action to family stress. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1964, 34, 762-767.
- Robins, L., & O'Neal, P. The adult prognosis for runaway children. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1959, 29, 752-761.
- Schachtel, E. On alienated concepts of identity. In E. Josephson & M. Josephson (Eds.), Man alone. New York: Dell Publishing, 1962, 73-86.
- Seeman, M. On the meaning of alienation. American Sociological Review, 1959, 24, 783-791.
- Seeman, M. & Evans, J. Alienation and learning in a hospital setting. American Sociological Review, 1962, 27, 772-782.
- Simmons, J. Some intercorrelations among alienation measures. Social Forces, 1966, 44(3), 370-372.
- Solnit, A., Settlage, C., Goodman, S., & Blos, P. Youth unrest: A symposium. American Journal of Psychiatry, 1970, 125, 1145-1159.
- Srole, L. Social integration and certain corollaries: An exploratory study. American Sociological Review, 1956, 21, 709-716.
- Stokols, D. Toward a psychological theory of alienation. Psychological Review, 1975, 82(1), 26-42.
- Taber, R. The critical cilemma of the school dropout. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1963, 33, 501-508.
- Taylor, C. Alienation, anomie and delinquency. British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 1968, 7, 93-105.
- Turner, C. Alienation index inventory (1968), Test Collection Bulletin, 1975, 9, 3(Educational Testing Service).
- Runaway children: A problem for more and more cities. U.S. News and

World Report, 1972(April 24).

Runaways: Rising U.S. worry. U.S. News and World Report, 1973(September 3), 34.

What to do if your child runs away. Business Week, 1975 (January 27), 91-92.

A P P E N D I X I

CASE INTERVIEWS

The analysis of group data is an important means of arriving at a composite picture of human behavior. This section presents case interviews of how various aspects of this study were expressed in particular individuals. Three cases are presented, each representative of the three populations used in the study: an alienated Runaway, an alienated Truant and an alienated Control subject.

In this section the sources of alienation affecting the populations used for this study are elucidated in the following excerpts from interviews with an alienated Runaway, Truant, and Control subject. The factors promoting alienation may best be understood as dysfunctions in one or more of four interrelated psychosocial spheres: self-evaluation, family membership, community support systems and, social supports from the society at large.

Runaways

Disturbed family relations appeared to be the most salient factor of adolescent alienation among runaways. Problems in this sphere tended to undermine the adolescent's self confidence, especially when community systems failed to mitigate the adolescent's frustration and pain prior to running away. The following is a brief description of eleven types of family disturbances believed to be operating within these families:

- 1) Marital problems--Prolonged conflict and stress between husband and wife created a tense, forboding atmosphere.
- 2) Belongingness--The adolescent's sense of belongingness was threatened by a disparity in the surface and actual family cohesiveness. Most of these runaways had experienced an actual or psychological separation from the father and mother respectively. Few were helped by the remaining parent to make the necessary adjustments. In some instances the adolescent felt subtly discriminated against by one or both parents. The reasons for the parental complicity may be understood psychodynamically.
- 3) Mother-daughter compatibility--The daughter's adolescence seemed to revive the mother's unresolved conflicts about her own self-image, dating and/or earlier transgressions. The re-emergence of the mother's conflict potentiated an unconscious competitive sibling relationship with the daughter. These feelings were exacerbated in those instances where a step-father had not fully been accepted by the daughter. The mother's loyalties were seemingly divided between her new mate and her daughter who felt rejected.
- 4) Father-daughter relationship--In some of these relationships the father's unconscious incestuous feelings towards his daughter promoted tension he defended against by becoming angry and excessively strict. He projected his own sexual feelings onto the adolescent accusing her of sexual misconduct. The daughter in turn became rebellious and sought emotional gratification from peers and often engaged in premature intimate relationships with boys. In some step-father-step-daughter relationships the incestuous feelings

were acted out. The daughter felt betrayed by her mother whose complicity in the father's action belied her ambiguities about her role as wife and mother.

- 5) Scapegoating--In each case the affectional bonds and healthy means of securing gratification among family members slowly deteriorated into an invidious pattern of scapegoating with the adolescent as the prime target. Several variants of scapegoating were observed, e.g., the Cinderella syndrome (evil mother, absent father, favored step-sisters), and the Bastard syndrome (out-of-wedlock child is constant reminder to both adults of the mother's earlier transgression).
 - 6) Molding--The parent(s) were driving the adolescent to act out their (parents') conflicts or unconscious wishes to the detriment of the young person.
 - 7) Individuation vs. alienation--Parent(s) attempted to bind the adolescent to the family to maintain the family homeostasis and were unresponsive to the adolescent's need for autonomy.
- OR
- 8) Eviction--The parental attitude tacitly or overtly conveyed the message that the adolescent was a burden to the family. She would then leave home prematurely. (Children away from home for this reason are called throwaways.)
 - 9) Street Wisdom--The modus operandi of the streets when introduced in the home by either parent or child promoted disturbed relationships where distrust and enmity prevailed.
 - 10) Family Secret--Parent(s) withheld important information about the

history of one or more family members from the adolescent. The effect created an "as if" situation which required perpetual deceit to maintain. Once the truth was learned the rift between the parent and adolescent was seemingly irreparable.

- 11) Physical abuse--The adolescent was physically abused by parent(s) for any of the above reasons.

Case I

The excerpts from D's interview will illustrate some of these family dynamics. To clarify which of the above is indicated, each excerpt will be followed by the number(s) corresponding to the dynamic in question.

D was 17 at the time of the interview. She had runaway four times in the past two years. She is the oldest of four girls. Her parents are unemployed at present but both are actively involved in their Tenants' Association. Her father has a high school education. Her mother has taken some college courses. D was in the 11th grade of a vocational high school at the time she ran away. While at the shelter she continued going to classes. She was thinking about applying to a two-year community college. At the time of the interview D's facial features were still swollen from the severe beating inflicted by her father several weeks before. She says;

I ran away because. . .first of all I was at a block party and the last thing I did was I cleaned up and my mother and father apparently was there and I didn't see them at all. And when I came down the stairs they evidently was home already. We live right down the block from where we was and when I got home they was in the bathroom and my sisters were in the kitchen

cause they had finished eating and I asked for something to eat and we got into an argument because there was nothing left . . .(2).

My father came to the kitchen and asked me where was I and I told him that I was down the block cleaning up, constantly over and over again. Afterwards my father got excited and he started beating me. I started to bleed from my nose and everything. I don't know whether my mother was there or not. . . during the time that I was laying on the floor I couldn't move. I saw my mother and I asked her to help me and she didn't help me. She just told me to get up . . .(4, 3, 11).

So my sister helped me to the room and I tried to stop myself from bleeding from the nose and mouth and whatnot. . . . My father threatened me saying that if I took anything, if I wanted to leave I could leave but if I took anything that I owned that the people from downtown wouldn't come to get me but the city morgue would. . .(4, 8).

D left home and went to a shelter. Her assigned counselor took her to a hospital where she was X-rayed and treated. The physician advised her to take out a protection warrant against her father, having him arrested by the police for child abuse. D considered that action but decided against it because, "He only beats on me like this. He's a good father to my sisters. So without me there I figure they'll (her sisters) be okay" (2, 5).

When asked about the first time she ran away, D answered:

The first time I ran away was because me and my mother got into an argument about my sister. My sister had said something to me and I said something back but I didn't say it clearly enough and my mother came in there and she said, "What! You called her a bitch?" She picked up this little chair of my sister's and she hit me upside the head with it. Well I just got up and said, "You ain't beating me cause you have no right doing it. I mean I can understand if you smack me or something like that but don't pick up no chair," and we began to fight (3, 5, 10, 11).

In the above excerpt the words misunderstood by the mother give some in-

dication of what provokes outbursts of anger and irrational behavior on her part. The meaning of these words and the mother's reaction become clear in the following passage.

. . .I said to her (mother) you're always sticking up for her (sister) cause, though I didn't know my father wasn't my father, she looked a lot like my father, too much like my father and it's not that I envy it but it was something that my mother seen. Cause I look a lot like her and I said you always taking up for her, always. . . . Anything I say to her I'm always getting hit for it. She can do anything she want to do--she (mother) don't say anything too tough about it--but you don't beat her like you beat me (3, 4, 5, 11).

D found out at age 15 that she had been an out-of-wedlock child. Her step-father had married her mother when she was very young. He is the father of her younger sisters. D is a constant reminder to both parents of her mother's transgression during her adolescence. There is the unconscious expectation that D will follow in her mother's footsteps. The step-father has not fully resolved his tumultuous feelings about his wife's previous behavior and projects and displaces his anger onto D. Both parents wish that D would leave but are seemingly unaware of their true motives.

D's experience with community support systems has been varied. Once a counselor from the child welfare bureau made a home visit and remarked on how nice the furniture looked. She asked D why she had left such a nice home. D replied, "The furniture didn't beat me up."

The previous excerpts from an interview with a runaway youth depict some of the family dynamics which tend to promote alienation. These young people feel unwanted and often with good cause. Transient and ineffective resources outside the immediate family provide few solutions

for these youth and their troubled families.

Truants

The major sources of alienation among truants appeared to be their involvement in opposing community support systems and the laissez-faire approach of the parent(s) concerning their daughters' academic responsibilities. In addition, individual endowments such as scholastic skills and personality disposition were important concomitants of alienation. (Some truants may have had character disorders while others seemed to have thought disorders.)

Two types of community systems were relied on by this population: those providing relief and those extending support.

Relief Systems

The truants were sensitized to the limited opportunities available to them. They attributed these few opportunities to the pervasive influence of racism which restricts their upward mobility. These adolescents were also cognizant of the importance of individual initiative and discipline to forge ahead. Beset with pressures to succeed, they often sought relief outside of the family and school sphere. Marijuana, playing hooky, relationships with older men and/or delinquent adolescent males, and some peer relationships offered relief but rarely assistance in realizing goals.

Support Systems

Some adolescents gravitated towards individuals in the community who could assist their efforts to improve themselves whereas others were approached by influential people who had taken an interest in them. These individuals performed several functions, e.g., role model, mentor, confidant. Most importantly, these community people (teacher, social worker, friend of the family) had access to opportunities heretofore unavailable to these students and were willing to help them become upwardly mobile. Adolescents when actively truant were less likely to avail themselves of support from these sources.

Family Sphere

The families of truants and runaways may have faced similar problems but scapegoating and its concomitant dynamics apparently existed to a much lesser extent among the truants' families, except in a few cases. Instead, their parents' actions or inactions seemed to encourage adolescent independence and self-reliance prematurely. These parents seemed to have been too permissive, consequently they failed to provide adequate limits for their daughters' autonomous expressions. The reasons for their nonintervention varied (e.g., indifference, preoccupation with other matters, mental illness). School seemed to be a "hands off" area for these parents who expected good academic performance but who appeared to be passively involved.

Fortuitous Life Circumstances

Truants' reported experiencing more precipitous disturbing events

over a shorter period of time than did the other subjects (e.g., sudden deaths of close relatives, prolonged illnesses of family members, onset of financial hardships). The frequency of these types of events seemingly undermined their self-esteem and generated a pessimistic outlook on life. Feelings of powerlessness, and depression prevailed but were often obscured by a brisk, tough facade.

Case II

L was 17 at the time of the interview. She was in the 10th grade and had been absent from school more than 50 times this year. She is the youngest of five children; one older brother age 25, and three sisters age 23, 21, and 19. L and her sisters live with her mother who has been separated from her husband for eight years. L's mother has a tenth grade education and is employed as a nurses' aide.

L's TAT story for card 2 clearly depicts the issues mentioned above. The mother in the story is seemingly unaware of her daughter's feelings. The daughter is ambitious but there is no indication of how her ambitions will be realized:

This is about a girl that's in school and her mother is pregnant and she looks like she (girl) kinda depressed in a way maybe because her parents ain't rich and her mother seem to be enjoying the sun. . . . I don't have much to say about this She don't have all the opportunities that other people have and whatever she want in her life she going to have to work hard for. She lives on a farm. I think she might get out of life what she wants(?) maybe be a lawyer, I think a lawyer. That's all I can say for this one.

L began the interview by discussing her boyfriend's predicament with the law. She was obviously depressed and worried about him. He

had been arrested for robbery in 1976 and was presently at Rikers Island. He received the maximum sentence because of his previous arrests for robbery. L had met him several months before the last arrest. When asked about her family's feelings towards him she said,

Truthfully they don't like him because they don't feel that he can give me what I want. All I want is to be happy. . . . We was talking about getting married whenever he comes home. By the time he do come home I'll be out of high school, I'll probably be in college then.

There is little indication that her mother is actively discouraging this relationship. In fact, L has become very close to the boyfriend's family. She has taken parttime jobs in an attempt to help with his legal defense.

When asked about school, L replied,

School's all right but I don't like some of these girls up here. They like, one minute they'll say "Hi" to you and they real nice to you and then as soon as someone else comes they get behind your back and talk about you. I don't like nobody like that. I mean if you don't like a person why should you say something to them. I mean it'd be better off not saying anything to them. I think school is OK.

When asked if this had been her experience in other schools she said,

Well this is the first high school I've gone to. I had a choice cause I got left back in junior high school about going to school. Cause when I was in the eighth grade that's when I first started smoking reefer and we never went to school. Me and this other girl got high and got left back for that. We would play hooky at her house and get high, cook steaks and eat and what not. Then about 3 o'clock I'd go home. They had given me a choice like between another school and here. I know a lot of people at that school and I know they'd say well let's go get high and this and that and I just may want to turn around and go get high with everybody else that's hanging outside. Then I'd never get to school then.

Other reasons for staying away from school were:

Sometime I stay out til the middle of the night and then when I do go to sleep and I get up the next morning I didn't feel like getting up. Like this morning I didn't feel like getting up (she did come early for the interview). . . . The teachers are going to pass me that's why I been coming and I do good work. The work ain't no problem. I really think it's easy, it's too easy for me.

Her mother's attitudes about her schooling are:

Well she says you not going to school for me. You going to school for yourself cause you going to be a grown woman soon and you just going to have to get out there on your own and I just tell her to mind her business. And she just minds her business. And now that I do go, like yesterday I had showed her that paper for college and we have to pay \$4.50 to take the test and she said, "Why do you have to pay money to take a test to get into college?" What could I say?

The mother's question about paying for an opportunity to go to college may have been well taken but L was upset by the remark because she wants the opportunity.

The parents of these truants expected much from their children but were not able to or were unwilling to provide the interest and assistance needed to help them succeed. It is noteworthy that those parents who did take an active interest were impeded at times by the school bureaucracy. The procedure to inform parents of their children's absences (sending out postcards) has been discontinued because of budgetary cuts.

Controls

The factors causing alienation among the Control subjects were similar to those affecting the other two groups, differing mainly by degree.

Problematic relationships with one or more family members, and exposure to conflicting social influences within the community were experienced. Unlike the Runaways and Truants they appeared to rely more on parental dictates (explicit and covert) when confronted with options varying in degree of social acceptability. They seemingly accepted and shared their parents' value system. Moreover they appeared to be more introspective and therefore less likely to cope with stress motorically (e.g., running away and/or physically avoiding a situation). They thought about their dissatisfactions and the probable causes and then contemplated ways of eliminating stress. Sometimes they emotionally withdrew from those situations in which conflicting demands caused confusion. While uncertain about interests, and cautious in establishing friendships, the Control subjects seemed to be searching for experiences (activities and relationships) that would enhance self expression.

Case III

A was 17 at the time of the interview. She is an only child living with her mother who has never been married. Her mother is a forty-year-old actress, freelance, who works full time as a switchboard operator. A is in the 11th grade and plans to pursue an acting career.

A has had some unsettling experiences with boyfriends and girlfriends. As a result she is cautious and even reluctant to make friends. She says,

Last year I was in another school and it was just something with a fella I used to go with. A lot of he said, she said going around. And instead of the both of us speaking to each other and confronting each other, the matter with each other--

I didn't believe the things that was going around. He believed most of the things being said and the anger just built up more and more inside of him and since he never did come to me all of a sudden one day he came to me and without giving me an explanation or time to explain or vice versa, he hit me. I had to have three stitches over my eye.

The following is her outlook on people and friendships which has been marred by the assault by someone she cared for:

I was kinda confused because I learned a lot about people, about trusting them, about friends, about what really makes a friend. I learned what a true friend is. Like right now I can say I don't have any friends. I may know people but like say if I wanted to go some place with someone I don't think I know anyone I could call up and they would come with me or someone to talk to like that. And trusting, I'm very--I can speak to you right now and trust you but yet for me to find a friend and think of that person as my friend, I'm really cautious, you know, see where they coming from, really trying to find out who they are before I really get myself involved with them.

When asked about her mother's attitudes about A's feelings, she said,

All my life my mother's told me to come to her and talk but I never did. I don't know why, maybe I was afraid of her. I just never did feel like speaking to her about just any problem; so ever since I was 12 years old and started going with boys she never really knew. She, so this was a real shock to her (the assault) because she didn't even know I was going with anyone and then when he called the house I just told her that it was someone from school asking for something.

It is important that A has not been able to confide in her mother since puberty. It may be that she has perceived her mother's sensitivities about male/female relationships despite her mother's statements. One can only speculate about the impact of the daughter's adolescence on her mother's unresolved conflicts. The lack of emotional closeness is

seemingly intensified by cramped living quarters. Both do not have the physical space necessary to ensure some privacy. A says,

. . .there's two people in the house and we're expected to well, keep the relationship going and sometimes it does bother me because it's not as good as it could be. . .like a lot of times I want things my way and I get very moody and I must go somewhere else and cool off. Like we don't have--it's just three rooms and that's one problem between us cause there's not privacy for both of us and well, it causes more anger between us. I don't know how to explain it but like when someone gets older and she may be having problems or I may have a problem and we want to be alone and you can't so there's conflict between the both of you.

In addition, A is aware of her mother's hardships in raising her alone. It seems that her mother has conveyed the difficulties without enmity. A may feel some guilt but this is not clear from what she says:

As I've been growing up she was supposed to get married once but she didn't get married to him. Now she's supposed to be getting married. As a matter of fact her boyfriend is here now. I don't know what's going on and that's another big thing with her taking care of me by herself all these years it's a lot on her and yet she came here for one purpose (from another state) to be an actress. And then after she had me she can't really do what she wants to do. So that probably bothers her a lot too. . . .

A was struggling with those aspects of her life that were problematic. She was trying to understand what was happening and why. Her actions were tempered by forethought. When she was unable to find solutions to the problems she faced, she sought help from an available resource in her community, the public library.

The families of these Control subjects seemed to provide for the adolescent's needs for security and stability despite some areas of conflict. These adolescents were then able to engage in relationships and

activities extending beyond the family domain. Perhaps because of the psychohistories of the parent(s) and the psychodynamic process of molding, these adolescents encountered situations which challenged their acceptance of their parent(s)' value system. They then seemed to experience an "identity crisis." Instead of responding motorically, they withdrew emotionally and contemplated the issues before responding.

APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRES

Date _____

Agency _____

1. Name: _____
2. DOB: _____
3. Sex: _____ M _____ F
4. School: _____
Grade: _____
5. Address: _____
6. Father's Occupation: _____
Income _____
Mother's Occupation: _____
Income _____
7. Father's Education: _____
Mother's Education: _____
8. People at home:

| | | |
|----------|----------|--|
| M _____ | GM _____ | # of Sibs _____ (older _____; younger _____) |
| F _____ | GF _____ | |
| SM _____ | A _____ | |
| SF _____ | U _____ | |

other _____
9. How many runaways? _____ 9a. For how long? _____
10. How long this time? _____

AI Inventory

Here are some statements that people have different feelings about. They have to do with many different things. Read each sentence and decide whether you: STRONGLY AGREE (SA), AGREE (A), DISAGREE (D), or STRONGLY DISAGREE (SD). Then check the answer that tells how you feel about it.

For example: The main problem for young people is money.
(Suppose that you "strongly agreed" with that statement.
Then you would check SA.)

X SA A D SD

There are no right or wrong answers. Just indicate how you really feel.

1. No one in my family seems to understand me.

 SA A D SD

2. School does not teach a person anything that helps in life or helps to get a job.

 SA A D SD

3. Most of my relatives are on my side.

 SA A D SD

4. School is a waste of time.

 SA A D SD

5. My parents often tell(told) me they don't(didn't) like the people I go(went) around with.

 SA A D SD

6. School is just a way of keeping young people out of the way.

 SA A D SD

7. I don't have anything in common with my family.

 SA A D SD

8. I like school.

 SA A D SD

9. I don't care about most members of my family.
 ___SA ___A ___D ___SD
10. Most of the stuff I am told in school just does not make any sense to me.
 ___SA ___A ___D ___SD
11. I worry about the future facing today's children.
 ___A ___a ___U ___d ___D
12. Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.
 ___A ___a ___U ___d ___D
13. It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a child.
 ___A ___a ___U ___d ___D
14. There is little or nothing I can do towards preventing a major "shooting" war.
 ___A ___a ___U ___d ___D
15. There are so many decisions that have to be made today that sometimes I could just "blow up."
 ___A ___a ___U ___d ___D
16. There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a person gets a break.
 ___A ___a ___U ___d ___D
17. We're so regimented today that there's not much room for choice even in personal matters.
 ___A ___a ___U ___d ___D
18. We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life.
 ___A ___a ___U ___d ___D
19. The future looks very dismal.
 ___A ___a ___U ___d ___D

IPA-2

Below you will find a checklist of word pairs. You will put an X in the space that best indicates your impression of this person. Each line has a meaning going from very strongly in one direction to very strongly in the other direction. If for example you were shown the following:

Nice _____ Mean

If you thought the person was extremely nice you would mark:

Nice X _____ Mean

On the other hand if you thought the person was extremely mean you would mark:

Nice _____ X Mean

If you can't make up your mind or if the person is average you would mark:

Nice _____ X _____ Mean

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------------|
| 20. | Good | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Bad |
| 21. | Cruel | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Kind |
| 22. | Strong | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Weak |
| 23. | Warm | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Cold |
| 24. | Calm | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Excitable |
| 25. | Failure | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Success |
| 26. | Slow | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Fast |
| 27. | Masculine | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Feminine |
| 28. | Foolish | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Wise |
| 29. | Hard | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Soft |
| 30. | Active | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Passive |
| 31. | Relaxed | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Tense |
| 32. | Selfish | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Unselfish |
| 33. | Confused | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | "Together" |

34. Critical _____ Understanding
 35. Insincere _____ Sincere
 36. Sad _____ Happy

I. Below you will find statements. After each statement you will see spaces ranging from most likely to least likely. Put an X in the space that best indicates what you would do in each case described below were you in the situation you heard.

37. Do what you were told because you have no choice.
 most likely _____ least likely
38. Refuse to do anything and explain why.
 most likely _____ least likely
39. Agree with what's said and discuss ways the two of you can improve things.
 most likely _____ least likely
40. Pretend to listen while thinking of something else you could be doing.
 most likely _____ least likely
41. Make up some urgent reason why you have to leave and then leave.
 most likely _____ least likely
42. Talk about how you see things so that your views are understood.
 most likely _____ least likely
43. Agree with what's said and ask for help.
 most likely _____ least likely
44. Leave without a word.
 most likely _____ least likely
45. Get angry and argue.
 most likely _____ least likely
46. Other (write your own)

-
- II. Of the above circle the number of the statement that best describes what you usually do in this kind of situation.

Below you will find questions about the people you heard. After each question you will see spaces ranging from very much to very little. Put an X in the space that best indicates your impressions of the people.

1. How much does (s)he understand what Jackie is saying?
 very much _____ very little
2. How much does (s)he care about what Jackie is saying?
 very much _____ very little
3. How much does Jackie understand what (s)he is saying?
 very much _____ very little
4. How much does Jackie care about what (s)he is saying?
 very much _____ very little
5. How much does (s)he understand how Jackie is feeling?
 very much _____ very little
6. How much does Jackie understand how (s)he is feeling?
 very much _____ very little

PS-1

Here is a picture of a ladder. Suppose we say that the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom represents the worst possible life. Where on the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time? Write the step number in the space below.

ing the directions printed there as accurately as possible.

1

A boy had a dog.
The dog ran into the woods.
The boy ran after the dog.
He wanted the dog to go home.
But the dog would not go home.
The little boy said,
"I cannot go home without my dog."
Then the boy began to cry.

2

Once there was a little pig.
He lived with his mother in a pen.
One day he saw his four feet.
"Mother," he said, "what can I do with my feet?"
His mother said, "You can run with them."
So the little pig ran round and round the pen.

3

Once there was a cat and a mouse. They lived in the same house.
The cat bit off the mouse's tail. "Pray puss," said the mouse, "give me my long tail again."
"No," said the cat, "I will not give you your tail till you bring me some milk."

4

Once there lived a king and a queen in a large palace. But the king and queen were not happy. There were no little children in the house or garden. One day they found a poor little boy and girl at their door. They took them into the beautiful palace and made them their own. The king and queen were then happy.

5

One of the most interesting birds which ever lived in my bird-room was a blue-jay named Jackie. He was full of business from morning till night, scarcely ever still. He had been stolen from a nest long before he could fly, and he had been reared in a house long before he had been given to me as a pet.

6

The part of farming enjoyed most by a boy is the making of maple sugar. It is better than blackberrying and almost as good as fishing.

One reason why a boy likes this work is that someone else does most of it. It is a sort of work in which he can appear to be very industrious and yet do but little.

7

It was one of those wonderful evenings such as are found only in this magnificent region. The sun had sunk behind the mountains, but it was still light. The pretty twilight glow embraced a third of the sky, and against its brilliancy stood the dull white masses of the mountain in evident contrast.

8

The crown and glory of a useful life is character. It is the noblest possession of man. It forms a rank in itself, an estate in the general good will, dignifying every station and exalting every position in society. It exercises a greater power than wealth, and is a valuable means of securing honor.

9

He was approximately six feet tall and his body was well proportioned. His complexion inclined to be florid; his eyes were blue and remarkably far apart. A profusion of hair covered the forehead. He was scrupulously neat in his appearance; and, although he habitually left his tent early, he was well dressed.

10

Responding to the impulse of habit Josephus spoke as of old. The others listened attentively but in grim and contemptuous silence. He spoke at length, continuously, persistently, and ingratiatingly. Finally exhausted through loss of strength he hesitated. As always happens in such exigencies he was lost.

11

The attractions of the American prairies as well as of the alluvial deposits of Egypt have been overcome by the azure skies of Italy and the antiquities of Roman architecture. My delight in the antique and my fondness for architectural and archaeological studies verges onto a fanaticism.

12

The hypotheses concerning physical phenomena formulated by the early philosophers proved to be inconsistent and in general not universally applicable. Before relatively accurate principles could be established, physicists, mathematicians, and statisticians had to combine forces and work arduously.

Transcript of Taped Conversation

M/T* What's been happening?

A** Nothing.

M/T Nothing? On come now. Aren't you going to tell me what happened yesterday?

A What do you want me to say? I know you're disappointed in me.

M/T Disappointed. . .no, I'm not disappointed, I just get annoyed at you giving up before you get started, before you give yourself a chance.

A Oh?! What's that supposed to mean?

M/T You don't always do what you're supposed to. There are some things that are important, like trying to do just one thing well . . .to the best of your ability. For instance like your homework, or taking care of your appearance.

A I don't think how I look is the most important thing you have to talk to me about, is it?

M/T What is important to you?

A You're not interested. You're just asking that to pretend that you care.

M/T What's happening here? When I do start to ask you about yourself you think I don't care, like I'm trying to trap you or something.

A You said it, I didn't.

*Mother or Teacher

**Daughter or Student

M/T I do care. Look, some things I have to know in order to help you; can't you understand that?!

A No. You never want to discuss things to "help" me. All you do is tell me what to do. "Do this, do that, listen to me, I know what's best." It makes me so mad. Everybody is always telling me what to do and when to do it. I want to do what I want to do.

M/T Well, what do you want to do. . .aside from hanging out?

A So now just because I'm not interested in what you think I should be interested in I'm hanging out.

M/T You're very good at not answering me, you know.

A Oh, there you go again. I suppose I'm hiding something now? Forget it, you don't understand.

M/T You don't understand. I'm trying to help you get it together because the way I see it you think you know it all and you don't know everything. If I say anything to you you swear I'm telling you what to do.

A Don't you?! Each day I wonder why I have to get up early and go to a place where I have to learn stupid things just to get a good grade so I can get a job that don't exist. Everybody tells me what I have to learn and nobody even bothers to ask me what I'm interested in.

M/T I'm asking. What are you interested in?

A I don't know.

M/T Well, it's time you begin to find out and you won't with that crowd you hang out with. . .that's why I want to know what happened yesterday.

A Damn, if it were left up to you I'd have no friends. Karen and

Marci are OK! We like the same things, we like being together.

Just cause you don't like them doesn't mean they're no good.

M/T It's not a question of whether I like them or not. They are a bad influence. They cut school all the time, they stay out all hours of the night. . . . Karen doesn't even stay home any more--

A So what!

M/T So what?! You don't even know who or what you are, let alone what you want to do and you're hanging out with girls who'll only get you to mess up your life. Sure they can show you how to blow an education, how to shack up with some boy and get pregnant. . . .

A I knew it, I knew it. You're really not interested in me, my friends or what's important to me. . . .

M/T I don't see you trying to do anything but hurt yourself, that's all. That's why I want to know what happened yesterday. Well?

APPENDIX III

TABLES

Table 15

Summary of Item-Inter-scale Correlations and Alphas
for Alienation Index Inventory

| | Item | Corrected item scale r | Alpha |
|--------|------|------------------------|-------|
| Family | | | |
| | 1 | .55 | |
| | 2 | .41 | |
| | 3 | .33 | .68 |
| | 4 | .61 | |
| | 5 | .28 | |
| School | | | |
| | 1 | .47 | |
| | 2 | .53 | |
| | 3 | .45 | .71 |
| | 4 | .40 | |
| | 5 | .46 | |

Table 16
Summary of Item-scale Correlations and Alphas
for Powerlessness Scale

| Scale | Item | corrected item scale r | Alpha |
|-------|------|------------------------|-------|
| | 1 | .21 | |
| | 2 | .28 | |
| | 3 | .01 | |
| | 4 | .38 | |
| | 5 | .44 | .63 |
| | 6 | .34 | |
| | 7 | .42 | |
| | 8 | .46 | |
| | 9 | | |

Table 17
Summary of Item-scale Correlations and Alphas
for Semantic Differential Scales

| Adult | Item | Corrected item scale r | Alpha |
|-------|------|------------------------|-------|
| | 1 | .64 | |
| | 2 | .67 | |
| | 3 | .26 | |
| | 4 | .57 | |
| | 5 | .43 | |
| | 6 | .46 | |
| | 7 | .06 | |
| | 8 | .26 | |
| | 9 | .57 | .84 |
| | 10 | .36 | |
| | 11 | .01 | |
| | 12 | .54 | |
| | 13 | .45 | |
| | 14 | .59 | |
| | 15 | .69 | |
| | 16 | .66 | |
| | 17 | .50 | |

Table 18
 Summary of Item-scale Correlations and Alphas
 for Semantic Differential Scales

| Adolescent | Item | Corrected item scale r | Alpha |
|------------|------|------------------------|-------|
| | 1 | .47 | |
| | 2 | .61 | |
| | 3 | .07 | |
| | 4 | .17 | |
| | 5 | .35 | |
| | 6 | .42 | |
| | 7 | .11 | |
| | 8 | .40 | |
| | 9 | .34 | .71 |
| | 10 | .31 | |
| | 11 | .44 | |
| | 12 | .20 | |
| | 13 | .28 | |
| | 14 | .46 | |
| | 15 | .62 | |
| | 16 | .55 | |
| | 17 | .17 | |

Table 19
 Summary of Item-scale Correlations and Alphas
 for Empathy and Behavior Scales

| Item | Corrected item scale r | Alpha |
|----------|------------------------|-------|
| Empathy | | |
| 1 | .32 | .49 |
| 2 | .39 | |
| 3 | .12 | |
| 4 | .35 | |
| 5 | .17 | |
| 6 | .17 | |
| Behavior | | |
| 1 | -.18 | .48 |
| 2 | .11 | |
| 3 | .29 | |
| 4 | .32 | |
| 5 | .20 | |
| 6 | .22 | |
| 7 | .16 | |
| 8 | .37 | |
| 9 | .39 | |

Table 20
Summary of Item-scale Correlations and Alphas
for TAT Alienation Scales

| Egocentricity | Item | Corrected item scale r | Item | Corrected item scale r | Alpha |
|---------------|------|---------------------------|------|---------------------------|-------|
| | 1 | .09 | 22 | .47 | .84 |
| | 2 | .65 | 23 | .59 | |
| | 3 | .47 | 24 | -.24 | |
| | 4 | .82 | 25 | .45 | |
| | 5 | .58 | 26 | .75 | |
| | 6 | -.46 | 27 | .76 | |
| | 7 | .12 | 28 | .34 | |
| | 8 | .26 | 29 | .41 | |
| | 9 | .77 | 30 | .50 | |
| | 10 | .54 | 31 | .64 | |
| | 11 | .49 | 32 | .44 | |
| | 12 | -.18 | 33 | .51 | |
| | 13 | .52 | 34 | .14 | |
| | 14 | .68 | 35 | .52 | |
| | 15 | -.09 | 36 | -.18 | |
| | 16 | .09 | 37 | .12 | |
| | 17 | -.13 | 38 | .62 | |
| | 18 | -.50 | 39 | .52 | |
| | 19 | .60 | 40 | .32 | |
| | 20 | .38 | 41 | .47 | |
| | 21 | .57 | 42 | -.24 | |

Table 21
Summary of Item-scale Correlations and Alphas
for TAT Alienation Scales

| Distrust | Item | Corrected item scale r | Item | Corrected item scale r | Alpha |
|----------|------|---------------------------|------|---------------------------|-------|
| | 1 | -.39 | 22 | .59 | .73 |
| | 2 | .19 | 23 | .14 | |
| | 3 | .27 | 24 | .44 | |
| | 4 | .19 | 25 | -.30 | |
| | 5 | .09 | 26 | .44 | |
| | 6 | .17 | 27 | .47 | |
| | 7 | -.30 | 28 | .07 | |
| | 8 | .54 | 29 | .31 | |
| | 9 | .08 | 30 | .47 | |
| | 10 | .36 | 31 | .44 | |
| | 11 | .12 | 32 | .50 | |
| | 12 | .01 | 33 | .28 | |
| | 13 | -.27 | 34 | .31 | |
| | 14 | .21 | 35 | .21 | |
| | 15 | .26 | 36 | .57 | |
| | 16 | .01 | 37 | .05 | |
| | 17 | .35 | 38 | .32 | |
| | 18 | .48 | 39 | .16 | |
| | 19 | -.22 | 40 | .20 | |
| | 20 | .42 | 41 | .16 | |
| | 21 | .35 | 42 | .51 | |

Table 22
Summary of Item-scale Correlations and Alphas
for TAT Alienation Scales

| Pessimism | Item | Corrected item scale r | Item | Corrected item scale r | Alpha |
|-----------|------|---------------------------|------|---------------------------|-------|
| | 1 | -.21 | 22 | .74 | .91 |
| | 2 | -.12 | 23 | .68 | |
| | 3 | -.21 | 24 | .67 | |
| | 4 | .82 | 25 | .26 | |
| | 5 | .56 | 26 | .29 | |
| | 6 | .18 | 27 | .34 | |
| | 7 | .55 | 28 | .56 | |
| | 8 | .32 | 29 | .58 | |
| | 9 | .02 | 30 | .72 | |
| | 10 | .74 | 31 | .66 | |
| | 11 | .55 | 32 | .29 | |
| | 12 | .77 | 33 | .24 | |
| | 13 | -.08 | 34 | .21 | |
| | 14 | .09 | 35 | .61 | |
| | 15 | -.03 | 36 | .76 | |
| | 16 | -.23 | 37 | .80 | |
| | 17 | .65 | 38 | .66 | |
| | 18 | .67 | 39 | .61 | |
| | 19 | .79 | 40 | .09 | |
| | 20 | .64 | 41 | .63 | |
| | 21 | .70 | 42 | .39 | |

Table 23
Summary of Analyses of Variance for Family
Alienation by Group

| Source of Variation | df | SS | MS | F | p |
|---------------------|-----|---------|--------|---------|-----|
| Between Groups | 2 | 184.782 | 92.391 | 14.4987 | *** |
| Within Groups | 106 | 675.474 | 6.372 | | |
| Total | 108 | 860.256 | | | |

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

Table 24
Summary of Analysis of Variance for
Dependent Measures by Family Alienation

| Source of Variation | df | SS | MS | F | p | |
|------------------------------------|-----|-----------|---------|--------|----|--|
| Adult Semantic Differential | | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 1 | 7.809 | 7.809 | .054 | | |
| Within Groups | 107 | 15253.603 | 142.557 | | | |
| Total | 108 | 15261.412 | | | | |
| Adolescent Semantic Differential | | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 1 | 115.924 | 115.924 | 1.646 | | |
| Within Groups | 107 | 7534.424 | 70.415 | | | |
| Total | 108 | 7650.348 | | | | |
| Semantic Differential (Difference) | | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 1 | 281.275 | 281.275 | 1.058 | | |
| Within Groups | 107 | 28429.972 | 261.700 | | | |
| Total | 108 | 28711.247 | | | | |
| Empathy | | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 1 | 1.330 | 1.330 | .065 | | |
| Within Groups | 107 | 2174.871 | 20.325 | | | |
| Total | 108 | 2176.201 | | | | |
| Self-predicted Behavior | | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 1 | 387.210 | 387.210 | 10.632 | ** | |
| Within Groups | 107 | 3896.679 | 36.417 | | | |
| Total | 108 | 4283.889 | | | | |

**p < .01

Table 25

Summary of the Analyses of Variance Relating School Alienation to Scores on the Adolescent Semantic Differential and Empathy Scales

| Source of Variation | DF | Mean Square | F |
|--|----|-------------|----------|
| Adolescent Semantic Differential Scale | | | |
| Main Effects | | | |
| Group | 2 | 11.38 | .167 |
| Tape | 1 | 63.14 | .928 |
| School Alienation | 1 | 247.44 | 3.638* |
| 2-Way Interactions | | | |
| Group by Tape | 2 | 75.60 | 1.111 |
| Group by School Alienation | 2 | 5.18 | .076 |
| Tape by School Alienation | 1 | 15.54 | .228 |
| 3-Way Interaction | | | |
| Group by Tape by School Alienation | 2 | 229.14 | 3.369* |
| Empathy Scale | | | |
| Main Effects | | | |
| Group | 2 | 77.57 | 4.788** |
| Tape | 1 | 141.52 | 8.736** |
| School Alienation | 1 | .12 | .007 |
| 2-Way Interaction | | | |
| Group by Tape | 2 | 12.23 | .755 |
| Group by School Alienation | 2 | 26.40 | 1.630 |
| Tape by School Alienation | 1 | 162.14 | 10.008** |

*p < .05

**p < .01

Table 26
 Summary of Analysis of Variance for Group
 Differences on Empathy Scale Items

| Source of Variation | df | SS | MS | F | p |
|--------------------------|-----|---------|--------|--------|-----|
| Adult Understanding | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 2 | 45.290 | 27.645 | 13.360 | *** |
| Within Groups | 106 | 179.663 | 1.694 | | |
| Total | 108 | 224.954 | | | |
| Adolescent Caring | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 2 | 14.416 | 7.208 | 4.530 | * |
| Within Groups | 106 | 168.665 | 1.591 | | |
| Total | 108 | 183.082 | | | |
| Adolescent Understanding | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 2 | 29.117 | 14.558 | 6.648 | ** |
| Within Groups | 106 | 232.112 | 2.189 | | |
| Total | 108 | 261.229 | | | |

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

Table 27

Summary of Analyses of Variance for Behavior Scores among Groups

| Source of Variation | df | SS | MS | F | p |
|--|-----|---------|--------|-------|----|
| Do What You Were Told | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 2 | 32.384 | 16.192 | 5.938 | ** |
| Within Groups | 106 | 289.028 | 2.726 | | |
| Total | 108 | 321.412 | | | |
| Explain Refusal To Do Anything | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 2 | 2.053 | 1.026 | .402 | |
| Within Groups | 106 | 270.276 | 2.549 | | |
| Total | 108 | 272.330 | | | |
| Agree With And Discuss What Is Said | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 2 | 5.419 | 2.709 | 1.598 | |
| Within Groups | 106 | 179.663 | 1.694 | | |
| Total | 108 | 185.082 | | | |
| Pretend To Listen | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 2 | 9.907 | 4.953 | 1.830 | |
| Within Groups | 106 | 286.844 | 2.706 | | |
| Total | 108 | 296.752 | | | |
| Make Up Excuse to Leave | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 2 | 4.992 | 2.496 | 1.061 | |
| Within Groups | 106 | 249.264 | 2.351 | | |
| Total | 108 | 254.256 | | | |
| Talk About How You See Things | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 2 | .488 | .244 | .194 | |
| Within Groups | 106 | 133.089 | 1.255 | | |
| Total | 108 | 133.578 | | | |
| Agree With What Is Said And Ask For Help | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 2 | 11.520 | 5.760 | 3.135 | * |
| Within Groups | 106 | 194.718 | 1.837 | | |
| Total | 108 | 206.238 | | | |
| Leave Without Saying Anything | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 2 | 25.531 | 12.765 | 6.701 | ** |
| Within Groups | 106 | 201.918 | 1.904 | | |
| Total | 108 | 227.449 | | | |
| Get Angry and Argue | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 2 | 11.707 | 5.853 | 2.253 | |
| Within Groups | 106 | 275.338 | 2.597 | | |
| Total | 108 | 287.045 | | | |

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

Table 28

Summary of Analyses of Variance for Behavior Scores by Context

| Source of Variation | df | SS | MS | F | p |
|--|-----|---------|--------|--------|-----|
| Do What You Were Told | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 1 | .058 | .058 | .019 | |
| Within Groups | 107 | 321.354 | 3.003 | | |
| Total | 108 | 321.412 | | | |
| Explain Refusal To Do Anything | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 1 | 2.152 | 2.152 | .852 | |
| Within Groups | 107 | 270.178 | 2.525 | | |
| Total | 108 | 272.330 | | | |
| Agree With And Discuss What Is Said | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 1 | .406 | .406 | .235 | |
| Within Groups | 107 | 184.676 | 1.725 | | |
| Total | 108 | 185.082 | | | |
| Pretend To Listen | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 1 | 40.666 | 40.666 | 16.991 | *** |
| Within Groups | 107 | 256.086 | 2.393 | | |
| Total | 108 | 296.752 | | | |
| Make Up Excuse to Leave | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 1 | .653 | .653 | .275 | |
| Within Groups | 107 | 253.603 | 2.370 | | |
| Total | 108 | 254.256 | | | |
| Talk About How You See Things | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 1 | .373 | .373 | .300 | |
| Within Groups | 107 | 133.204 | 1.244 | | |
| Total | 108 | 133.578 | | | |
| Agree With What Is Said And Ask For Help | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 1 | .775 | .775 | .403 | |
| Within Groups | 107 | 205.463 | 1.920 | | |
| Total | 108 | 206.238 | | | |
| Leave Without Saying Anything | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 1 | 10.546 | 10.546 | 5.202 | * |
| Within Groups | 107 | 216.903 | 2.027 | | |
| Total | 108 | 227.449 | | | |
| Get Angry And Argue | | | | | |
| Between Groups | 1 | 26.372 | 26.372 | 10.825 | ** |
| Within Groups | 107 | 260.673 | 2.436 | | |
| Total | 108 | 287.045 | | | |

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

Table 29
Means and Standard Deviations for Three
Behavior Scale Items by Context

| Context | Means | Standard Deviation |
|-------------------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Pretend to Listen | | |
| Mother-Daughter | 3.22 | 1.63 |
| Teacher-Student | 2.00 | 1.44 |
| Leave Without Saying Anything | | |
| Mother-Daughter | 2.17 | 1.61 |
| Teacher-Student | 1.54 | 1.17 |
| Get Angry and Argue | | |
| Mother-Daughter | 3.10 | 1.58 |
| Teacher-Student | 2.11 | 1.53 |

